

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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THE GREAT EXHIBITION AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The following circular, addressed to the several great religious organisations of this country, as well as to the Committees of the Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, has been issued by the Anti-slavery Society. The course which it recommends will be heartily sustained by the great bulk of our countrymen, we have no doubt; and we would hope that the appeal now made will be as heartily responded to by those who have the management of our religious institutions. Our pulpits and our platforms must not be defiled by the presence of American slaveholders, or their abettors. The circular, in the form addressed to the Committees of the Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, was modified to bring out the melancholy fact that the circulation of the Bible among American slaves is utterly forbidden—that missionary exertions among them cannot be carried on—and that tracts are put in the same category with the Bible, and, what is still worse, the principal associations which are at the head of the religious movements in the United States, unhappily, acquiesce in this deplorable state of things.

GENTLEMEN,—The approaching Exhibition of the Industry and Arts of Nations, in this great metropolis, will, among others, bring, it is expected, a large number of Americans as visitors, belonging to various religious denominations in that country; and will afford you an excellent opportunity of bearing your protest against American slavery, in forms which must be deeply felt, and which cannot fail to prove highly salutary and beneficial.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society would be among the last to recommend a course of conduct towards American visitors which should appear, in the slightest degree, to trespass on the rites of a generous hospitality, or the sacred obligations of Christian fellowship; but they feel that to discriminate, in these acts, between those who directly or indirectly sustain American slavery, with all its degradation and atrocities, and those who are earnestly labouring for its overthrow, is a solemn duty, which British Christians owe to their suffering and oppressed fellow-creatures, and to the purity of the faith which they profess.

The number of human beings held in slavery in the United States is upwards of 3,000,000; and of these it is estimated that more than 660,000 are held by the ministers and members of various sections of the Protestant churches, viz.:—Methodists, 219,563; Baptists, 125,000; Campbellites (Baptists), 101,000; Episcopalians, 88,000; Presbyterians (Old and New School), 77,000; and other denominations, 50,000. So melancholy and startling a fact as this requires no other comment than your own thoughts and feelings will readily suggest; but they would remind you that these wretched creatures, no less than the great bulk of their fellow-sufferers, are held as property, and subjected to all its revolting incidents; that they are denied the sacred rights of marriage and parentage, and vast numbers of them are kept in a state of profound ignorance of their nature, and of their duties and destiny as rational and immortal creatures. To tolerate such a state of things as this, or to give it any countenance or support, is surely incompatible with an enlightened view of Divine truth, and the exercise of the benign spirit of the Gospel. They would, therefore, hope that you, Gentlemen, will take such steps as shall effectually prevent all parties implicated in the support of slavery in the United States, from access to your pulpits, and to the fellowship of your churches, and by these means show your determination, not only to discountenance the system of American slavery,

but all its abettors also; whilst at the same time you give a cordial reception to those who act upon opposite principles, as worthy of double honour.

The Committee would further add that, if an additional motive were required to justify the course which they recommend, it will be found in the recent legislation of the United States, by which not only has the area of slavery been greatly extended, but the re-capture of fugitive slaves, or of coloured persons suspected of having been slaves, in a summary manner, provided for. This latter enactment violates every principle of justice, humanity, and religion. It makes beneficence a crime, and the Christian charity, which gives aid to a slave in his struggles for freedom, an offence punishable by heavy fines and lengthened imprisonment in the Penitentiary. It has already broken up several coloured churches; dispersed many coloured families; driven these poor fugitives, during an inclement winter, from the homes which they had made, into Canada; and already thrown many slaves back again to all the horrors of their former condition, aggravated by the fact that they had once tasted the sweets of liberty, and were now restored to their infuriated and brutal masters.

Sincerely trusting that you may be led to adopt suitable measures for showing to the world your deep abhorrence of American slavery, and your warm sympathy for American slaves,

I am, Gentlemen,

(On behalf of the Committee,)

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street,
London, April 21, 1851.

The following resolution has also been issued by the Committee, and inserted as an advertisement in the several religious periodicals of the present month, as well as in the newspapers which represent the leading religious denominations in this country.

RESOLUTION.

At a special meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at No. 27, New Broad Street, on Monday, the 21st of April, 1851, GEORGE W. ALEXANDER, Esq., in the Chair.

It was resolved,

“That this Committee, in view of the anticipated large influx of American citizens into this country, of various religious denominations, feel it to be their solemn duty to call upon every section of the Christian church in the United Kingdom to discriminate, in acts of Christian fellowship, either in respect of church communion, occupation of pulpits, or other intercourse, between those who are either directly implicated in the system of American slavery, which mercilessly consigns upwards of three millions of human beings to hopeless degradation and misery, or who by their guilty silence or apologies indirectly sustain it; and those faithful brethren who, in the spirit of the Gospel, are earnestly labouring to remove, from the churches and from their country, the guilt and reproach of this atrocious iniquity. And, further, this Committee would respectfully but urgently recommend to British Christians to unite in a solemn protest against American slavery; and to press upon American visitors, as they have opportunity, the obligation of promoting, by all the means in their power, its immediate and complete abolition.”

BAPTIST UNION.

It is with great satisfaction we have to record that at the annual session of the Baptist Union, held at the Baptist Mission House, on Friday, the 25th of April last, which was numerously attended, the following important resolution was adopted:—

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

"That this Union, having heretofore faithfully and affectionately remonstrated with their brethren of the Baptist denomination in the United States, on the degree of support unhappily given, both by churches and ministers, to the system of slavery, deem it an imperative duty at the present season, both on account of the enactment of the recent Fugitive Slave Law, and more especially on account of the large number of persons from the United States, whom the Industrial Exhibition may be expected to draw to this country, to renew its protest against this essentially criminal and abominable system. They call to remembrance the fact, that a large number of the Baptist churches in England have formally and publicly resolved not to allow ecclesiastical fellowship to slaveholders; and they sincerely hope that the spirit which dictated these resolutions will operate universally, both towards professors and ministers, in such a manner as shall unequivocally show that British Christians cherish an imperishable hatred towards slavery, and are ever ready to show double honour to those who reprobate it and seek its extinction."

We have no doubt, from information that has reached us, that similar resolutions will be adopted by other denominations at their annual sessions.

The following will commend themselves to our friends generally, and suggest the adoption of active measures, in their varied spheres, to give them practical effect.

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE BRISTOL AND CLIFTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, HELD MARCH 27TH, 1851.

The members of this Society having contemplated, with pain and deep regret, the course of the clergy in the United States, which (with a few honourable exceptions) affords more or less support to the system of slavery; and having been especially grieved by the low views of Christian duty, recently proclaimed by ministers in the free States, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Bill,—

Resolved,—“That such ministers of this city as may be about to attend Annual Conferences in London, during the month of May, be respectfully, but earnestly solicited to deliberate with their brethren, on the expediency of adopting some line of conduct to prevent their pulpits being occupied by any clergymen from the United States, visiting England at the approaching Exhibition, who have not borne testimony to the unrighteous character of the Fugitive Slave Bill; and further, to take into consideration the desirableness of urging those religious Societies in America, with whom they sympathise in doctrine and discipline, not to depute any ministers to this country, upon religious or philanthropic missions, who have not publicly manifested their disapprobation of this law, which Judge Jay declares to be ‘as palpable a violation of the constitution, as it certainly is of the principles of justice, the rights of humanity, and the religion of Jesus Christ.’”

(Signed on behalf of the Committee,)

F. N. TRIBE, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the BIRMINGHAM LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, held April 14th, 1851,

Resolved,—“That the members of this Society regard it of great importance, at the present juncture, to elicit an expression of British feeling on the wrongs and outrages of American slavery, more especially as respects the Fugitive Slave Bill, recently passed into a law by the Legislature of the United States.

“When they consider that this measure has received not merely the acquiescence, but the public sanction of many of the most eminent ministers of the several churches in America, to an extent which it is painful to contemplate, they conceive that a solemn duty attaches to the ministers of all denominations in this country, and especially to those about to meet so many of their American brethren in London, to refrain from inviting to their pulpits those who are known to have supported the system of slavery, and, above all, this iniquitous enactment.

“They believe that a consistent course of action like this, accompanied by earnest and friendly remonstrances on the part of professing Christian churches in this country, to their corresponding denominations in America, would prove a most influential means of putting an end to the system—for, as has been stated by one of the bodies in America, holding correct views on the subject, ‘The heart of the slave-master will not relent, the statutes of the Slave Code will not grow dim, unless the church withdraw from the

institution her sanction and support; yea, till she withdraw from it her entire sympathy, and place upon it the broad seal of her strong and universal reprobation.’”

(Signed by request and on behalf of the Committee,)

L. E. STURGE, Secretary.

HOW ARE AMERICAN PRO-SLAVERY MINISTERS TO BE RECEIVED?

(From the “British Banner.”)

It is recorded of the late O’Connell, that he would suffer no slaveholder to be seated under his roof; the moment he ascertained the point—and he was uniformly at pains to inquire, before an interview, when an American visitor was announced, how he stood with respect to the question of slavery—the blunt, bold reply was, “I cannot see him!” There are few British hearts which do not sympathise with the generous determination of the great Irish patriot, and amongst those who do so, we claim a foremost place. It is, therefore, with no small pleasure we have received the following resolution, unanimously passed at the half-yearly meeting of the Ministers and other Deputies of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Congregational Union and Home Mission:—

RESOLUTION.

“That the grief and shame which we have long felt on account of the slavery which prevails in several of the United States of North America are greatly aggravated by the fact, that not a few Christian churches and Christian ministers, so called, plead for the continuance of that wretched system; that our sorrow has been recently still further deepened by the atrocious ‘Fugitive Slave Law,’ which the Legislature of the United States has enacted; that while it would give us pain to do anything that should even seem to be inconsistent with international and Christian hospitality, especially towards our transatlantic kinsfolk, during the approaching Congress in London, we deem it right to express our unanimous determination not to welcome to our pulpits any minister of religion, whatever may be his reputation in the States, who hesitates to avow his abhorrence of slavery, and his earnest desire for its speedy abolition; but that, on the other hand, we regard those American ministers and others who, in their own country, boldly declare their anti-slavery principles, to be worthy of ‘double honour.’”

This is as it should be, and we consider great praise is due to the Union aforesaid, for this wise, bold, and prompt expression of its conscientious determination and resolution. The ocean-path is free, and they may traverse it who choose, but not so the path which leads to the pulpits and the parlours of Englishmen. Let no pirate footstep pollute those paths! Pirate, we say; for we must view the man who holds property in man, who makes merchandise of the flesh and blood, the soul and spirit of his fellow-creatures, as of the pirate species, and of that species the worst part! We never fail to discriminate, when dealing with these subjects; but discrimination has its limits, and, after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law, those limits must, in our judgment, and in our conscience, be contracted from a wide circumference to a single point. Previously, slavery was an affair of certain States; but, by this law, it is made an affair of all States, since all citizens are now, more or less, involved in the atrocious crime of slavery, and the time is come for Christians in England, and in Europe generally, to give the virtuous and right-minded portion of the United States people the benefit of an external conscience, and of a loudly and unmistakably expressed public opinion. Let all whom the matter doth or may concern distinctly understand, that Englishmen will in no respect be directly or indirectly parties to the sanctioning of this barbarous and blood-stained enactment! That which was once local has now become federal, and therefore has comprehended within its all-pervading grasp the entire population of the States General. The time has come which will try the spirits of men. Formerly, many were sincere in pleading the difficulties arising from the fact, that slavery was a “domestic institution”—an affair exclusively appertaining to the several States in which it prevailed, but with which the General Congress could not interfere. Many used this plea dishonestly; now, however, all mistakes are removed. It is now, with a vengeance, an affair of the Great Confederation, and, unless removed, it will prove a blight and a curse to that great, and, in many respects, glorious country. If slaveholders and their abettors must needs cross the Atlantic to worship at the shrine of Genius in the Crystal Palace, let them!

Let them parade the avenues of the wondrous pile, and the splendid parks which surround it, with their ladies gemmed and jewelled, and loaded with gold, the profits of the murderous traffic, heedless of the fact, that yonder sun is descending upon three-and-a-half millions of manacled men, women, and children, whose blood and tears have ministered to their luxury, and sustained the expenditure of their trip to the fatherland! Let them do so with a quiet conscience and self-respect, if they can; but, by all that is sacred, we call on British Christians to refuse their aid in the ungodly endeavour. Courtesy must not be exercised at the expense of conscience, and the rites of hospitality must not be exercised towards men whose hands are red with the blood of the slave.

It will be seen, that the foregoing resolution touches only on the ecclesiastical point, and deals exclusively with ministers. For the Bristol Union, and for ministers generally, this may be enough; but the matter must not end here. The principle must extend to laymen, to Christians generally, and to all the relations of life; the apostolic principle must be applied in full, and, therefore, "no fellowship must be had" with these men, that "they may be ashamed." No alliance with the men who number their fellow-immortals with their horses and their oxen! No alliance with the men who rank such spirits as Frederick Douglass,—spirits whose wisdom would teach sages, and whose eloquence would charm senates,—with goods and chattels, and put them up for sale on the auction block!

THE MODEL REPUBLIC—WHAT RECEPTION IS DUE TO SLAVEHOLDERS AND THE PATRONS OF SLAVERY?

(From the "Christian Times.")

The Americans, as if to deter us from lending our aid, or even our countenance, to the abolition, within their territory, of that slavery which we have branded and prohibited as illegal and iniquitous among ourselves, have substituted for the proper name of that inhuman and execrable system the more delicate and euphonious appellation of "domestic institution." By the use of this phrase, which, however, betrays an inclination to disguise the infamy of the thing so designated, they intend to insinuate that the question pertains to themselves alone, and that there is a degree of officiousness, if not of impertinence and of arrogance, in the Government or the citizens of any other State pronouncing an opinion upon the manner in which they are conducting themselves towards not less than three millions of their fellow-creatures.

The Americans are the last people who have a right to complain of sympathisers, or to expect from the rest of mankind, and least of all from this country, any peculiar or generous indulgence for their follies or their vices. They hold themselves out as a model republic, and they are never without an active *propaganda*, for the dissemination of their own principles, or the extension of their own sovereignty.

Great Britain must, however, take a deep interest, and one justifiable by public policy and the law of nations, as well as by religion and humanity, in the question of "slavery in America," so long as she is bound by treaty with other great powers to the extinction of the slave-trade, and retains, at both extremities of the Union, such important dependencies as Canada and the West India Islands. The former is the asylum to which the fugitive slaves betake themselves, whose numbers may soon render them objects of anxious solicitude to the Government; and the latter are the scene of a great experiment, which we cannot lightly abandon to the dangers that may arise from the proximity of ill-regulated and inflammable communities.

But, besides these general considerations, there are others that are specially connected with prospects of the present season, and that may reduce us, before we are aware, to some painful alternatives between the apparent violation of principle and a neglect of the laws and impulses of hospitality. Thousands of Americans are talking of a visit to this metropolis, and though—like everything else relating to the Great Exhibition—their numbers are probably exaggerated, there will, most likely, be among them some distinguished professors of religion, including ministers of the Gospel—as it is understood among slaveholders—who have made no protest against this abominable "institution," if they have not implicated themselves in it by defending it, or, still worse, by participating in "the accursed thing."

It is not impossible, we say, that among the visitors, and those *primâ facie* entitled by the symbols and tokens of fraternity to a cordial reception, there will be found some who may yet, on further

inquiry, prove to be identified with what we are unanimous in condemning, as no less repugnant to Christianity than to the first principles of justice and humanity. There may even be slaveholding ministers—at least we have read of such monstrous inconsistencies, though we can scarcely believe in the reality of their existence—or ministers deriving part of their income from endowments in which slaves form an ingredient; and there may be lord-deacons and elders from the South, claiming a special property—scarcely intelligible to us, and irreconcilable with our notions of the great scheme of redemption—in the very bones and sinews of the members of the body of Christ!—and we may be expected to receive these people as if there were not a great gulf between us, on one of the most vital questions that Revelation can solve for mankind. If it had not solved it, either directly or by necessary implication, we should at least have felt uncomfortable at the omission; but, if it have done so, and as we believe in favour of the indefeasible rights and instinctive emotions of man, what sympathy can we feel, or what communion can we hold, with men who derive from the same authority the justification of slavery and of the most flagrant injuries that men are capable of inflicting upon each other?

How, then, are these gentlemen to be received, if they should present themselves, with these marks of inconsistency tarnishing their characters, and, as we think, corroding the very substance of their Christianity?

Will they venture, once more, to quote against us the case of St. Paul sending back the fugitive slave Onesimus to his former master? Let them first complete the parallel, and furnish all the guarantees assumed by the apostle before he ventured on this act of confidence in the kindness and magnanimity of his convert and of "the church at his house." Let them be well assured that here was no violence and no compulsion—no wolf-like hunt by sheriffs' officers, no writ, no manacles, no *posse comitatus*—no slaveholding community to await the return of the deserter, and then to unite in acts of public revenge for the despite shown to a "domestic institution"—none of those prospects which lead our modern slaves so frequently to prefer death, in any shape, to a return to their former bondage. St. Paul well knew the heart of his "beloved Philemon," the power of Christianity to ennoble and refine, the weight of his own authority as an apostle, and the protection afforded by a church—not yet corrupted by the pride of riches—to its humblest members, before he proceeded so far as to make the runaway slave the bearer of a letter announcing his voluntary return to Philemon, and suggesting the conditions on which alone it was possible in future for the Christian master to accept the services of one "no longer a slave," but "a brother beloved"—emancipated *ipso facto* by admission into the common society and fraternity of Christians.

We could dwell with pleasure on this little episode, showing better than a thousand arguments what St. Paul thought about slavery, and what kind of a "Fugitive Slave Bill" would have been supposed compatible, in those early times, with the principles of Christian liberty, superadded to the laws of nature. It is true that the founders of Christianity did not apply themselves, immediately and specially, to the eradication of this, nor of many other evils, which they treated rather as the produce than the root of iniquity. They went through the jungle of this world's errors and vices, as the first inroad upon such a wilderness required them to do—clearing with invincible force the greatest obstructions that stood in their way, and hewing out some paths by which their successors might follow them. They never pretended to accomplish that universal improvement of society which we look for only as the consummation of their labours. But they laid down principles which ought, some day at least, to be operative, and they scattered seed which cannot but fructify, except in too barren a soil or in seasons too unkindly. They left many things to necessary inference and the operation of irresistible causes; and it is as true that they did not preach against slavery, as that the sun does not issue his proclamation against the frosts of winter, when he is advancing in his journey along the ecliptic.

What American slavery really is, among these republican, and, must we add, Protestant slaveholders, we may infer from the conduct of the Christian fugitives at Buffalo and other places along the frontier; where whole congregations, pastors and all, being of African blood, had fled into Canada, on the first rumour of the "Fugitive Slave Law" being put into operation. How this country, or at least the religious portion of it, should enter its protest against this atrocious enactment, and against the inconsistency of those Christian ministers who have given it their approval, has been well indicated by the ladies of Birmingham, who have

passed a resolution, at a meeting of their Anti-slavery Society, in which they, plainly, and without circumlocution, express their opinion of the course that ought to be adopted, calling upon ministers "to refrain from inviting to their pulpits" those who have committed themselves to the cause of slavery. We agree with them, likewise, in recommending that they should be received with double honour who have braved so much obloquy in joining that feeble minority, in the slave States, that is arrayed against the national sentiment, as well as the "domestic institution," of the country of which they are citizens.

IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN LABOURERS INTO JAMAICA.

The frightful ravages of the cholera in this island, especially among the labouring class, has stimulated all parties interested in its agriculture and commerce to renew their applications for additional immigrants, and to suggest various sources whence supplies may be obtained, and the conditions under which they should be brought to the island.

The estimated mortality in Jamaica, arising from cholera, has been carried as high as 40,000 by some parties; but there is little doubt that this amount is a great exaggeration. If we may judge from the despatches of Sir Charles Grey, who must have had the best means of forming a correct judgment, it is probable that the number who have died from that most frightful disease ranges between 15,000 and 20,000, of all ages and of both sexes. Among these, no doubt, there were a considerable number of effective field labourers, and that, as a consequence, in some districts, there is a short supply of hands; but as the greatest amount of mortality was experienced in the towns, it is clear that the demand for agricultural labourers cannot be so great as certain interested parties would make it appear.

The principal sources of supply of labour indicated by the several parties who have memorialised Government on the subject, are Africa and America. With respect to Africa, they point out two sources:—First, liberated Africans, the principal depôts for which are Sierra Leone and St. Helena; and, secondly, Africans drawn, it is not said how, from other parts of the coast, not under British jurisdiction. With respect to America, they contemplate the free people of colour, who are threatened with expulsion from the slave States, and others in the free States or in Canada who may be induced to emigrate to Jamaica.

The conditions upon which it is proposed to bring the immigrants into the island are as follow:—First, that contracts, *made out of the colony*, shall be valid for any period not exceeding three years; secondly, that captured Africans brought to the colony, at the expense of the imperial treasury, should be subject to yearly contracts, and to the regulations laid down by Lord Grey; thirdly, that the immigrants introduced be made subject to a law which shall oblige them to five years' labour with a planter, which shall regulate the hours of labour, which shall subject them to a heavy tax unless they work for planters, which shall restrict them within a distance of two miles from their place of labour, and which shall inflict upon them heavy fines and imprisonment with hard labour for neglect of duty or violation of the terms of contract; fourthly, that a law shall be passed to encourage the introduction of labourers at the public expense; and fifthly, that special measures shall be taken to secure American immigration from Virginia, South Carolina, and other States.

We make no comments on these several propositions; but proceed to show the latest views of Lord Grey upon the whole subject of immigration generally. In a despatch to Sir Charles Grey, his lordship declares his opinions in the following terms:—

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.

"Though I am far from believing that immigration is the only practicable mode of increasing the available supply of labour in Jamaica, it is undoubtedly the first and most obvious resource which suggests itself. I do not doubt the expediency of adopting all practical means for the introduction of a large number of immigrants of a suitable description into the colony. With this view, it is the prayer of the Assembly, in their memorial to her Majesty, that all negroes liberated from slavery by her Majesty's cruisers should be sent to Jamaica, and that such measures as may be considered most advisable should be adopted for obtaining free emigrants from the coast of Africa. With regard to the negroes found on board slave ships captured by her Majesty's cruisers, I have to observe that already all those who, without improper constraint, can be

induced to go to the West India colonies are sent to these colonies free of expense to them by her Majesty's Government; the number, therefore, to be sent to Jamaica could only be increased by depriving some of the other colonies of the share of this advantage which they now enjoy; and considering that in these colonies the want of labour is not less urgent than in Jamaica, though they have hitherto been spared from the disease which has visited that island, this is a course which her Majesty's Government could not with propriety adopt. With respect to the introduction of free emigrants from Africa, I concur with the Assembly in thinking that it would be highly beneficial, if it could be accomplished; but you are aware that every endeavour which has hitherto been made to procure free emigrants from Africa has failed; and a report which has very recently reached me of the last attempt, which was made only a few months ago, to obtain emigrants from the Kroo Coast, is not encouraging as to the prospect which exists of greater success attending any further experiments of the same kind."

AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS.

"In the memorandum transmitted to me by Mr. Macgregor, it is suggested that an endeavour should be made to induce the free black inhabitants of some of the United States to settle in Jamaica. I have already, in my circular despatch of the 16th of October last, called your attention to this subject, and, since that despatch was written, I have obtained further information, which tends to confirm the opinion that there is a reasonable prospect that, if proper arrangements were adopted for the purpose, a large number of immigrants might be obtained from among the coloured and black inhabitants of the United States and of Canada. I need hardly observe that there is no immigration which would be attended with so many advantages as that of the class of persons now adverted to. These people are in general trained labourers, accustomed to the usages of civilised society, and speaking the language of the colony in which it is proposed that they should settle; it is obvious, therefore, how much more useful they would be than a much larger number of the rude inhabitants of Africa, or even than the natives of India or of China. The distance, also, from which these immigrants would have to be brought, is inconsiderable; so that their introduction would not be attended with heavy expense, and there is reason to believe that their removal is earnestly desired by the communities of which they now form a part, and in which their presence, in the actual state of society, is a source of discomfort both to themselves and to others."

SHOULD BE INTRODUCED BY PRIVATE PERSONS.

"The question then arises, what are the steps which it would be advisable to adopt, in order to set on foot an extensive immigration of persons of this description from the continent of America; and, after much consideration, I am led to believe that the best course which can be adopted is that of endeavouring to enlist private enterprise in the undertaking. I am of opinion that the exertions of individuals would be more likely to be successful than any public agency which could be made use of in obtaining immigrants well suited to the wants of the colony, provided proper facilities were afforded to those who stand in need of labour to procure labourers for themselves wherever they can be found."

UNDER CONTRACTS FOR THREE YEARS.

"But to encourage the efforts of individuals to obtain labour for themselves, it would be necessary to make some arrangement for securing to those who incur the trouble and expense of introducing labourers the advantage they have a right to expect from doing so. It is probably with this view that the gentlemen who have signed the memorandum transmitted to me by Mr. Macgregor have suggested that contracts for three years should be legalised in Jamaica, as they have been in some other colonies. You have already been informed that if the legislature of Jamaica should think fit to pass a law for this purpose, I should not consider it necessary to advise her Majesty to withhold her sanction from it; but, in repeating that I am prepared to abstain from objecting to such legislation, I must also repeat the expression of my strong opinion as to the extreme impolicy of encouraging contracts of this description. It is obvious that the only advantage which can result to the employers from having their labourers bound to them by contracts for three years, is that of obtaining the labour of those who are so bound on better terms than they could expect to get the same amount of labour from persons under no engagement. This advantage may be expected to arise more from the regularity with which labour can be commanded, than from the rate of wages

to be paid to the persons so engaged; still, the return for the expense incurred in the introduction of labourers is looked for, in some form or other, from the right to their service for a certain time. No doubt, at first sight, the scheme appears sufficiently plausible, but the experiment has been repeatedly tried, and contracts of this kind have invariably disappointed those who have entered into them. More than twenty years ago, when the want of labour in New South Wales was exceedingly urgent, some gentlemen having property in that colony engaged labourers in this country and sent them out under contracts to work for them for a term which had been agreed upon. One of the persons by whom this experiment was tried, and who had been most sanguine as to its success, described to me its utter failure; nor were the causes of that failure difficult to understand. It is a truth too obvious to escape the most ordinary observation, that men in general can only be impelled to strenuous and persevering industry by some very powerful motive, while no such motive is brought to bear upon men engaged by long contracts to work at a fixed rate of wages, not higher, at all events, if it is not lower, than that which, unfettered by such long engagements, they can command. If men so employed should labour carelessly and inefficiently, the employer has no adequate means of enforcing increased exertion, since to discharge them and cancel the contract, which, in a wholesome state of the relations between the employer and the labourer, is a sufficient punishment, would be a reward and not a punishment to the labourer, who would thus be set free from an engagement which prevents him from making the most of his labour. No doubt the master, whose labourer does not perform his contracted task, may carry him before the magistrate for punishment, but punishment so inflicted will not enforce industry that will be remunerative to the employer, and the labourer who is not subject to the stern compulsion of slavery cannot be impelled to real exertion except by making it his interest to exert himself. In this country, which for successful industry may justly claim to stand at the head of all the nations of the world, it is well known that the employers of labour find it expedient to bring self-interest to bear as directly as possible on the labourers, and that piece-work, whenever it is practicable, is greatly preferred to day labour; though, in the state of the demand and supply of labour which exists here, the power of discharging an idle labourer gives great authority to the master in enforcing exertion on the part of labourers engaged by the day. I must add, that the state of feeling created by the existence of slavery in the United States would, I believe, render the most eligible emigrants who might be obtained there peculiarly averse to entering into contracts for labour for three years."

FORM OF PROCEEDING.

"I have entered thus fully into the objections which, in my judgment, render it inexpedient to attempt to bind, by long engagements, immigrants who may be induced to resort to the British colonies, because I entertain a strong conviction that such an attempt would be certain to lead to the failure of any plan of immigration of which it formed a part, while at the same time the legitimate object which is aimed at by such engagements is capable of being attained by other means which are not liable to the same objection. Nothing can be more reasonable than that those who incur the trouble and expense of introducing labourers into colonies where labour is in great demand, and, consequently, bears a high value, should be repaid out of the earnings of the labourers so introduced, and I should strongly recommend to the legislature of Jamaica, that every facility which can possibly be given by law should be afforded for making and enforcing contracts founded on this principle. For this purpose, I am of opinion, that a law should be passed, rendering valid in the colony engagements entered into by immigrants, before their embarkation, to repay by instalments such a sum of money as may be agreed upon between them and the persons by whom they are conveyed to the colony. It would probably be convenient that such engagements should be in the form of simple notes of hand, promising to pay the sum agreed upon by certain weekly instalments, and that they should be witnessed by the master of the vessel in which the immigrants are embarked, and probably, also, by some public authority at the port of embarkation. If that port is a foreign one, the British consul would, probably, be the best person to perform this duty. It would also, I think, be advisable to provide that on the arrival in Jamaica of a ship conveying immigrants embarked upon these terms, none of them should be permitted to land until they had been identified before the immigration agent, or some officer

acting under him, as the persons who had signed or affixed their marks to the engagements previously witnessed by the master of the vessel, and a certificate to this effect should then be added to the engagement. Without some such provision as this, it would probably be difficult, after the departure of the vessel, to prove the signature of the immigrant, so as to enforce his promise to repay the cost of his passage. It would further be necessary to provide that every immigrant, introduced under such a contract, should be bound to give notice to the person with whom he had entered into it, or to the immigration agent, through the police, where he intended to reside, and that till his debt was discharged he should be liable to the penalties attached to fraud, if he should, without previous notice to the same parties, go more than five or ten miles from the place where he had signified his intention to reside."

LAW SHOULD NOT BE TOO STRINGENT.

"Great care would be necessary in framing an enactment of this kind, so that on the one hand it might be effectual for its purpose, and on the other it might not press with undue severity on the immigrants, so as to discourage the immigration of the coloured people from the United States and from Canada. This class would not fail speedily to learn from the first immigrants what treatment they had experienced in the colony, and nothing would be so impolitic as to allow this treatment to give just ground for complaint, since this would infallibly put a stop to an immigration which is calculated to be so highly beneficial to the colony, and which, if properly encouraged, is, I believe, capable of being established on a very large scale. I have only to add, on this point, that the objection I have urged to long contracts for labour would not apply to contracts entered into with immigrants thus bound to repay the cost of their introduction into the colony, to give them employment at the full wages of the colony, but with a power reserved to the immigrant of cancelling the engagement at his pleasure, on giving a month's notice of his desire to do so. An assurance of employment on such terms might be necessary to induce the labourer to emigrate, and if the wages agreed upon were such as to make his being discharged a punishment instead of an advantage, while a power was reserved to the master, in the case of misconduct or idleness on the part of the immigrant, to cancel, before a magistrate, this part of the agreement, leaving in full force the engagement to repay the debt contracted by the immigrant."

INTRODUCTION OF IMMIGRANTS AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE.

"I am of opinion, that the passing of a simple law of this kind, by enabling proprietors to make arrangements for themselves, and to engage labourers wherever they might be found, whether on the continent of America, or in some of the southern countries of Europe, or in China, would afford the best means of supplying the present deficiency of labour; but I should see no objection to combining a law of this kind with the adoption of the recommendation of the gentlemen whose memorandum I have sent you, by taking measures also for the introduction of labourers at the public expense. If this is done, it appears to me that it would be advisable to pass a law placing such immigrants under regulations similar to those which have been for some time in force with much success in Mauritius, and which have lately been adopted also in Trinidad and Guiana. Or, what would, perhaps, be still simpler, the amount advanced from the Colonial Treasury to cover the cost of introducing these immigrants might be made a debt, recoverable from them in the same manner as similar debts would be recoverable by individuals under the law I have suggested. In this case the immigration agent, on behalf of the public, should make the advance, and should have the same power as a private creditor, of recovering the amount by instalments from the immigrant."

Lord Grey does not, however, consider that immigration is the sole means of supplying Jamaica with labour. He is of opinion that a well-adjusted system of taxation would increase the available amount of labour, without overtasking the powers of the labourers. On this point he writes as follows:—

MEDICAL AID—DISPENSARIES.

"The recent calamity has naturally called public attention to the great deficiency which exists in the means of supplying medical assistance to the population of Jamaica; it seems therefore to be a good opportunity of reviving the consideration of a measure (suggested but not adopted on a former occasion) for establishing parochial hospitals and dispensaries. I am persuaded that such

institutions would be found highly useful, and the expense of maintaining them, as they would be established mainly for the benefit of the labouring classes, might, with great propriety, be defrayed by a rate upon houses; the amount levied upon each house being made to depend upon the number of its habitual inmates. In public hospitals and dispensaries thus maintained, every ratepayer should be entitled to obtain gratuitous treatment in sickness for himself and his family; thus rendering the arrangement, in effect, equivalent to the establishment by law of medical clubs, such as those which exist in many English parishes, with the single but important difference, that in Jamaica it would be legally obligatory on every inhabitant of the parish to contribute to the institution. For this difference there would be ample ground in the fact that experience has too fatally proved, that the provision made voluntarily for the treatment of the sick in Jamaica is lamentably deficient. The benefit to be derived from such institutions as I have mentioned would be much increased, if the proposed hospitals were combined with the parochial workhouses, which would be put upon a proper footing for affording relief in cases of destitution, on the system now adopted in well-regulated workhouses in this country. In Jamaica, where the demand for labour is so great, and a subsistence so easily obtained, it is scarcely possible that any but the sick or the infirm can suffer from want, if they are willing to exert themselves for their own support, and real distress will generally be found to proceed from sickness. Still it will be impossible to enforce, with due strictness, laws against vagrancy, unless the means exist of offering relief in well-regulated workhouses to those who profess, however untruly, that they are driven to vagrancy by distress. Hence the obvious advantages of combining in one establishment the hospital and the workhouse, in which relief is given both to real and pretended distress."

SCHOOLS.

"The want of schools has been no less clearly established than the deficiency of the existing arrangements for the medical treatment of the sick. This absence of any proper provision for the education of the rising generation is an evil of a very serious kind; and when it is considered that, by the existing constitution of Jamaica, the acquisition of political power is no less open to the negro than to the white man, and that in a few years the former race, from their great numerical superiority, can hardly fail to become possessed of a predominating influence, it cannot be doubted that to the future welfare of the community it is of the greatest importance that those who must possess this power should be prepared by education for its exercise. Effective schools ought, therefore, in my judgment, to be established throughout the island, and the expense of doing so is one which might, with the strictest justice, be provided for by such a rate upon houses as I have already described. I should not recommend that any attempt should be made to require the population to send their children to the schools to be thus established; it would be sufficient that all the inhabitants of the several parishes should be called upon to pay their share for the maintenance of effective schools, with the privilege of sending their children to them, without any additional payment, if they thought proper to do so. I need hardly observe, that the system of maintaining schools by rates has existed in Massachusetts and some other States of the American Union, since their first settlement, and has been attended with the best results. I am aware that, in establishing such a system in Jamaica, much difficulty would arise from religious differences; but this difficulty has been successfully contended with in Canada, where, without neglecting religious instruction, the children of parents of various persuasions are educated together; and when the need of some improved system of education is so urgent as it has been proved to be in Jamaica, I should hope that the members of all the different religious communities which exist in the island would concur in not allowing their differences to stand in the way of that improvement. I cannot leave this part of the subject without adding, that I conceive education to be of great importance to the industrial prosperity of Jamaica, since agricultural improvement can hardly be carried on with spirit and effect, except by means of instructed and intelligent labourers."

RATES TO BE IMPOSED TO SECURE THESE OBJECTS.

"In proposing that the expense of providing medical assistance and education for the population of Jamaica should be met by a rate imposed upon houses, according to the number of their inmates, I have had in view both the justice, considering the

purposes for which the money is required, of this mode of levying it, and also the advantage to be derived from it by its being calculated to stimulate the labouring classes to industry. I have not, however, forgot the observations in your despatches of the 20th and 21st October, 1848, on the discontent and irritation which you state to have been produced by the system of parochial assessments, pressing heavily, and in galling manner, on the occupiers of small tenements and holdings of land. I am well aware of the great danger which might result from rousing feelings of this kind in an ignorant and excitable population; they ought not, therefore, to be subjected to a new burthen of the kind I have suggested, without taking care that it is both light in amount, and collected in the manner least onerous to those by whom it is paid, and also that the utmost pains should be taken in explaining that this payment is made for objects in which they are deeply interested. Hence the penalties for default of payment should be as moderate as possible, not exceeding two days of forced labour for every shilling left unpaid; and the magistrates and special justices should be instructed carefully to explain to the people the advantages they would receive in return for the payment demanded from them, before the period fixed for its collection."

TAXES ON IMPORTED PROVISIONS SHOULD BE ABOLISHED OR REDUCED.

"It would likewise be most desirable, that while this new demand is made upon the population, they should at the same time be relieved, if possible, from some of the most objectionable of the present taxes. I would more especially recommend a revision of the duties upon ordinary articles of food, such as flour, butter, and cheese. The duties upon these and upon other articles of a similar kind, I should consider it highly expedient to abolish or to reduce, if the state of the revenue should render it practicable to do so. It is, I think, impossible to doubt that duties of this kind must have a tendency very injurious to the great staple branches of colonial industry. While the sugar and coffee planters are suffering so much from a deficiency of labour, it is obvious that in levying the revenue required for the public service, the utmost pains should be taken to avoid every tax which has a tendency to divert labour from these occupations. But taxes upon imported provisions have this tendency in the highest degree; by raising the price of such provisions they must necessarily increase the consumption of provisions grown in the colony, and therefore the demand for the produce raised by the negro in his own ground,—thus artificially increasing the profit to be derived from this description of labour, and at the same time making an equally artificial reduction in the amount of food which can be purchased by the wages earned in the cane-field. Thus these duties are directly calculated to discourage the labourer from working for hire, and to lead him to prefer working in his own provision ground. It is hardly necessary to observe, that in the actual state of society in Jamaica it would be desirable, that whatever revenue is required, should be raised by taxes having precisely the opposite effect. For these reasons, I consider it to be of great importance that the duties in question should be reduced, if they cannot be entirely abolished."

PAROCHIAL TAXATION.

"I am no less persuaded of the impolicy of diminishing the parochial burthens at the expense of the general revenue; parochial taxation, properly imposed, is calculated, for the reasons I have already stated, to act as a stimulus to industry; whereas import duties, unless kept within the most moderate limits, must tend to discourage the formation of a taste among the people for the comforts and luxuries of civilised life, and such a taste could not be developed without creating new and powerful motives for exertion. I have reason to believe, indeed, that the existing mode of levying parochial taxes requires to be revised; it seems objectionable that they should be charged upon stock and upon wheels, a mode of assessment which might fall most heavily upon the most active and enterprising cultivators. Whether rates should be levied, as in this country, according to the value of the property assessed, or rather, as you have formerly suggested, according to the extent of land occupied by the ratepayers, is a question on which I have not the means of forming a judgment. The principle of apportioning the charge according to the value of the property on which it is imposed would seem to be the fairest; but, on the other hand, I can easily understand that to make a valuation which shall not only be really correct, but which shall satisfy those concerned that it is so, may in Jamaica be a matter of insu-

perable difficulty; even in this country it is not very easily accomplished. Perhaps a middle course might be the best, and land might be assessed at different rates, according to the nature of the cultivation; one rate per acre being imposed on all pasture land, another on land growing canes, and another on provision grounds; taking, as the basis of the cultivation, the average value of the return derived from the land by those several modes of occupation."

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

"I am persuaded that the various measures I have suggested would tend, by their combined effect, to stimulate the industry of the working classes in Jamaica, and would greatly contribute to increase the advantage which may be derived from an addition to the number of labourers by immigration. But it is obvious that this is a policy of which the success must entirely depend upon a firm and equal administration of the law, and upon the efficient maintenance of order and obedience to authority throughout the colony. It is not to be expected that the negro population would willingly submit to the new burthens imposed upon them, if they should perceive that the land-tax and other charges, falling upon the higher classes of society, were negligently collected and imperfectly paid, and if they were not satisfied that the produce of the rates were properly applied to their professed objects. Nor would it be possible to enforce a rate upon houses, if any part of the population were allowed to wander about without any recognised place of abode, thus escaping the charge which would fall upon the settled and industrious inhabitants of the various parishes. I would therefore most strongly recommend to the legislature to adopt such regulations as may ensure the punctual and exact collection of the rates and taxes, both general and parochial, and may subject the collectors to an effective responsibility for the due performance of their duty. The constitution of vestries and other bodies, to which the expenditure of parochial and other local rates is entrusted, should be considered, and, if necessary, improved in such a manner as to give the lower class of ratepayers some share in the management of their own affairs; and the proceedings of these local bodies should be subjected to the supervision of some superior authority, and their accounts to an independent audit. Lastly, if the existing law against vagrancy is insufficient to check that offence, its faults should be corrected, and it should be considered whether the reductions which have been made in the police have not been carried too far, bearing in mind that there can be no such short-sighted and injudicious economy as that which would refuse the necessary outlay for maintaining the police in a state of complete efficiency, for the preservation of order and the enforcement of the law, without which industry can never flourish."

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, FOR THE UNIVERSAL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society beg respectfully to submit the following statement to your consideration.

The object of the Society, as declared at the time of its formation, in 1839, was, "The universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade; the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves." To each of these points the Committee have given their best attention; and, they may venture to say, with the most satisfactory results.

At the commencement of the labours of the Society, there was scarcely a province, island, settlement, or other possession under British dominion,—with the exception of the recently emancipated colonies and Canada,—in which slavery and the slave-trade, in one or other of their odious forms, did not exist, and cast their baneful influence over large bodies of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects. Previous efforts had been successfully directed against slavery in the British West Indies, and a few colonies elsewhere; and that great work having been accomplished, it became necessary to detect and destroy it in every other part of the British empire. It would occupy too much space to detail the various and anxious labours of the Committee in this department of service, but they may be permitted, thankfully, to point to their fruits. Both slavery and the slave-trade have now been effectually abolished in the East and West Indies, the Tenasserim Provinces, Scinde, Lahore, Ceylon, Malacca, Penang, Province Wellesley, Hong Kong, and at certain British settlements on the western coast of Africa; and thus, by the various acts of the imperial legislature at home, and by the authorities in India, millions of wretched slaves have been emancipated, and the atrocious traffic in human beings declared to be piracy and felony in every dependency of the Crown. Connected with this great fact, the principle has been recognised and asserted by Government, that a slave, of whatever country or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions, is as free as if he landed on the shores of the United Kingdom itself. To give completeness, however, to the work of abolition in Great Britain, it became necessary to call the attention of Government and Parliament to the fact, that British subjects residing in foreign slaveholding countries, and Mining Companies formed at home for carrying on their operations in such countries, were known to have embarked large capital in plantations, mines, and slaves; and that no law existed to prevent such transactions. To expose the doings of these parties, and to appeal to the legislature against them, became the duty of the Committee, and the result has been

the enactment of a law which renders it a crime of the highest class for British subjects to purchase, or sell, or hold slaves in foreign countries, or in any other way to aid and abet the slave-trade. The Committee may further add, that peremptory instructions have been issued by Government to the effect that all British functionaries residing in such countries shall neither hold nor hire slaves for domestic or other purposes; and that the Consular Agents shall refuse to administer to the property of deceased British subjects, when slaves form any portion of the same.

Another important department of the Society's labours has been to guard the rights and promote the interests of the emancipated classes in the British colonies and territories abroad. The Committee need scarcely remind their friends that there has been a constant tendency, under various pretexts, to enact restrictive and oppressive laws; and in some cases such laws have been enacted. To obtain their modification or repeal has been an object of deep solicitude, and the occasion of much labour to them. They have been continually compelled to appeal to Government against laws and ordinances regulating the relation of masters and servants, contracts for labour, and for the suppression of vagrancy, which were evidently intended to coerce the labour, and limit within the narrowest bounds the privileges of the people. In this struggle they have had to contend with the old spirit of domination in the colonies, ever active and unscrupulous in its attempts to regain its lost power; with the local authorities, who, with few exceptions, were prepared to give effect to the most oppressive legislation; and with the Home Government, which, in too many instances, yielded to the pressure of colonial interests, and sanctioned proceedings subversive of the fundamental principles of the Abolition Act. In reviewing the labours of past years, they feel persuaded that, but for the constant vigilance exercised, and the promptitude of the measures taken, a modified system of slavery would most assuredly have been reconstructed in most, if not all, the emancipated colonies. Even now the contest is not terminated, and the Committee feel that the slightest relaxation of effort on their part would open the way to enormous abuses, both in law and in practice. Throughout the whole of this struggle they have been made sensibly to feel that the abolition of slavery is not the establishment of freedom. The love of power and the desire of gain are as rife as ever in the colonies, and they fear they only require the occasion, to display themselves in their most hideous and repulsive forms.

The Committee have also had to enter largely into the question of the import of foreign labourers into the emancipated colonies, with a view to correct, where they could not prevent, its manifold abuses. They have endeavoured to guard these strangers from the operation of unjust and oppressive laws, as well as to secure for them, as far as possible, a considerate and humane treatment. They are still much occupied in this important work; and never was it more needed, for in the Crown colonies particularly there has been an undisguised attempt made to reduce the immigrants—Africans, Coolies, and Portuguese—by means of compulsory labour-contracts, to a servile state for a period of years. Defeated in measure in their past attempts to restrict the just liberty of the immigrants, the Governors of Guiana and Trinidad have recently obtained ordinances from the legislative bodies, of which they are the head, of a most unjust and oppressive character. These laws are attempted to be justified by these high functionaries, on the ground that the immigrants were brought up under institutions more or less servile in their nature, and that, in order to obtain the requisite amount of labour, and secure proper obedience from them, "compulsion there must be somewhere." It is easy to foresee that if such doctrines as these find favour at the Colonial Office, there will be little scruple in applying them as well to the Creole or native as to the immigrant labourers. The Committee feel, therefore, that their most active efforts are required to prevent the coercion and enslavement of the labouring classes, and to establish justice and freedom as the basis of all colonial legislation.

Passing on to a brief review of the foreign operations of the Society, the Committee feel that it may, without presumption, claim a large share of the triumphs of the anti-slavery cause on the Continent. Deputations representing the Society have visited, from time to time, the principal States of Europe and America, to promote its great objects; and they have sought by this and various other ways to diffuse anti-slavery information; to awaken sympathy on behalf of the enslaved, and to form anti-slavery Associations as opportunities were afforded. The attention of the Committee has been specially directed to France, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Spain, and Portugal, on the Continent of Europe, and to Brazil and the United States in the New World, and not in vain. France, Denmark, and Sweden have abolished slavery in their several colonies and territories abroad, and by so doing have released from bondage nearly five hundred thousand slaves, who now rejoice in their freedom. Portugal and Holland, it is believed, are ripe for abolition, and the Committee trust they may soon be able to state that definitive steps have been taken to effect so good a work. In connexion with this branch of the Society's labours, the Committee cannot omit the gratifying fact that the Bey of Tunis finally terminated both slavery and the slave-trade in his territories, in accordance with their representations and wishes.

With respect to Spain and Brazil, with whose colonies and territories the great traffic in slaves is still carried on, the Committee have not failed energetically and perseveringly to press on the attention of Government and Parliament the right which this country has acquired, under treaties, to demand, not only the complete abolition of the slave-trade, but the liberation from the bondage in which they are illegally held, of a vast body of Africans,

who have been illicitly imported into their colonies and territories respectively. To this grand point the Committee have directed their best efforts; and it affords them much gratification to say that the principle for which they have so long and earnestly contended is now fully recognised in this country; and that its practical and pacific application would secure the extinction of slavery itself, both in the Spanish colonies and Brazil.

But independently of the direct advantages which have arisen from the labours of the Society, both at home and abroad, the Committee are persuaded that its indirect influence has been productive of much good to the cause of emancipation. In no country is this felt more than in the United States, where its past and present labours are much prized. The monthly organ of the Society, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, is extensively circulated in countries where slavery exists, as are also the various documents published by the Society; and these are found to be potent auxiliaries to the anti-slavery cause. The continuance of these exertions is felt to be a duty in which the Committee hope to be largely assisted by the friends of that cause throughout the United Kingdom.

The Society seeks to accomplish its objects by moral, religious, and pacific means, and by such means only; and directs its efforts principally against the system of slavery, being persuaded that so long as it exists, the slave-trade, in one or other of its dreadful forms, will continue. The number of slaves at present held in bondage by professedly Christian powers is upwards of seven millions. These all appeal, in their suffering and degraded condition, to Christian philanthropists; and their appeal, the Committee are persuaded, will not be in vain. Earnestly do they desire that those who have hitherto stood aloof from this sacred cause may feel it to be their duty to join those who are labouring to promote its speedy and perfect triumph; and that those who are already interested in it may redouble their zeal in its service, and enable the Committee to prosecute their various and important labours without embarrassment by liberal contributions to its funds.

The Committee need, and they very earnestly desire an increase of contributors to the funds of the Society, either by annual subscriptions or by donations. Hitherto, the Society has been mainly sustained by the large and generous contributions of comparatively a few individuals. Whilst deeply grateful to them for the aid afforded, the Committee deem this mode of sustaining the claims of the Society unsatisfactory. They wish, therefore, to extend the range of its influence and power, and to increase an interest in its proceedings by enlisting a large body of friends in its pecuniary support. The Committee therefore commend the subject of this address to the kind consideration and co-operation of their friends, and the cause which it advocates to the Divine blessing.

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Treasurer*.
JOHN SCOBLE, *Secretary*.

London, 7th March, 1851.

Contributions may be forwarded to the Treasurer, 40, Lombard-street, or to the Secretary, at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, MAY 1st, 1851.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM ON AMERICAN SLAVERY IN CONNEXION WITH THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

The great Exhibition of 1851, with all its thrilling interest and associations, is rapidly approaching. Specimens of the productions, industry and skill of various countries have already reached our shores, and will soon form so marvellous a display of industrial ability and resources as is altogether unparalleled in the annals of history. That such an Exhibition will greatly tend to improve the taste, and enlarge the commercial views of the countries contributing to it, few can doubt.

But it is not on mere commercial grounds that we view, with deep interest, this grand international display, around which the inhabitants of almost every part of the civilised globe will meet in kindly intercourse or friendly emulation. The Christian and the philanthropist cannot but rejoice in the cheering hope that the moral will far outweigh the commercial benefits, and give to this noble Exhibition the highest and most important character. Much, however, will depend on the moral standard which Englishmen may uphold to this multitude of inquiring visitors from all parts of the world; and as each individual may have a part to act in raising or lowering this standard, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society earnestly entreat their fellow-countrymen of all classes to consider well the deep responsibility which rests upon them, in reference to this most important opportunity of promoting the freedom and happiness of mankind. They would have every British subject, who has a heart to feel for the

injured and oppressed, remember that, although the iniquitous system of slavery is legally abolished in our own dominions, it yet exists to a fearful extent in various parts of the world; for, independently of those held in bondage by Mahomedan and pagan nations, there are more than SEVEN MILLIONS of human beings still retained in slavery, by professedly Christian and civilised powers; and that, to supply the waste of life occasioned by this atrocious system, tens of thousands of unoffending Africans are annually torn from their native shores, and subjected to cruelties so brutal and intense that no language can adequately describe them. And, above all, let it be remembered, that in the United States of America, notwithstanding their boasted privileges, and with all their high professions of civil and religious liberty, there are upwards of THREE MILLIONS of immortal beings held as property, robbed of the commonest rights of humanity, and constantly to be bought and sold as the beasts of the field, and that, too, under a constitution which declares that "God hath created all men equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." It is against this glaring inconsistency—this flagrant desecration of justice and religion—that we entreat you to bear a bold and honest testimony, on every occasion which the period of the Exhibition may afford.

We are no strangers to the difficulties of legislative interference with the slave States on the part of the Federal Government, but we venture to express our firm belief that American slavery owes its continuance as much to the servile acquiescence and silent sympathy of the North, as to the hard and mercenary grasp of the South. Can it be, that a country so powerful for territorial acquisition, so potent in legislation for all that affects the interests of its free citizens, is utterly powerless with respect to the interests of its enslaved population? Can it be that the Federal Government is fully competent to tear the poor fugitive slave from the sweets of freedom, and to send him back again to an intolerable bondage, but utterly unable to snap his chains and bid him go free? Can it be that a people, strong enough in its infancy to break the yoke of a powerful nation, is too impotent in its manhood to deliver three millions of its fellow-citizens from a yoke infinitely more galling to its unhappy victims? No! it cannot be! And every American ought to blush for shame when he attempts to palliate national injustice by the assumption of constitutional weakness, and thus expose the noble constitution of his country to the scorn and disgrace which should only attach to the pride and the selfishness of a portion of her people. Such a subterfuge may serve to raise the finger of scorn, which the enemies of civil liberty point with such powerful effect at the miserable results of republicanism in America; but it cannot move the enlightened politician or Christian philanthropist from the firm conviction that if the public sentiment of the free States alone were sound upon this momentous question, it would scatter to the winds every alleged constitutional difficulty, and awaken a moral power in favour of emancipation which the slaveholders of the South would find it impossible to resist. To arouse and deepen in the mind of every American this moral sentiment, is the imperative duty of Englishmen whilst performing the rites of hospitality, or extending the hand of welcome to their transatlantic brethren. Let us not forget that on our faithfulness in this matter much may depend, as to whether the influence of each individual, when he returns to his native shores, shall be exercised for good or for evil, on this great question. And permit us especially to warn those who have the control of British pulpits, to be very careful how they allow them to be occupied by those ministers of religion, who are not prepared most unequivocally to denounce the condition of slavery as utterly repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel; and its sanction, even by silence, as a dereliction of Christian duty. They can be no fit teachers of the doctrines of Christianity, who are swayed, by the mere colour of the skin, from the practical exercise of its blessed precepts. The duty of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us, admits of no limitations of race in the sight of Him, "who hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

In thus calling upon the British public at this interesting period to uphold, in all its integrity, the standard of Christian truth, in relation to the system of slavery, it is far, indeed, from our intention to awaken one feeling of bitterness towards any of our American friends. For those among them who have laboured, amidst much opposition, contempt, and persecution, to obey the apostolic precept to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," we would

bespeak the most cordial welcome to the hearts and homes of Englishmen. All, indeed, that we desire is, that the extended intercourse to which the approaching Exhibition must necessarily lead may be made a means, under the Divine blessing, of promoting the speedy removal of slavery, and of hastening that happy period when every country in the world shall utterly repudiate "the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man."

This day the great exhibition of the wonders of human industry and skill, and the treasures of human art, gathered from many nations, will be opened by the Queen of these realms, in person, accompanied by the great officers of state and the *élite* of her subjects, to give splendour and dignity to the scene. The occasion will also be marked by the presence of many distinguished personages from foreign countries, and, among these, not a few from the United States. These, our kinsmen, will expect to be received with honour; and, certainly, to none should we be more forward to extend the hand of fellowship, and the rites of hospitality, than to them; but, in their case, we feel that we must discriminate; we feel that we cannot treat them all alike—that we must separate the precious from the vile—the Christian abolitionists from the unchristian slaveholders and their abettors; and this we must do, whatever pain it may cost us, in vindication of the rights of our common humanity, and the claims of the Divine law.

Let it be remembered that Americans will leave behind them upwards of THREE MILLIONS of human beings, created in the image of God, in a state of absolute slavery; and, if we may judge from their recent legislative acts, the declarations of their most eminent statesmen, and the messages and proclamations of their President, they are determined to keep them in that state, and to perpetuate the giant iniquity.

It is an affecting spectacle to see any great nation violate, by its public acts, the principles of justice and freedom, and no people are more quick to discern, and prompt to condemn such conduct, than are Americans; but it is still more affecting to behold a people such as they, who boast of their free institutions, their advanced civilisation, and their religious privileges, falsify every principle of righteousness, trample under foot the dearest interests and relations of humanity, and establish iniquity by law. This they have done; and have thus disappointed the noblest aspirations and intentions of the great men who laid the foundations of their republic, and have mocked the expectations of the world.

From the year 1777 up to 1804, one State after another, in accordance with the Declaration of Independence, abolished the system of slavery; but from that period until now, *not* the abolition but the extension of slavery has marked the legislation of the United States. The Missouri compromise devoted immense tracts of territory to slavery, which have ever since been filling up with slaveholders and slaves. The annexation of Texas to the Union gave an additional domain to slavery, five times as large as the State of Kentucky; and the recent introduction of California as a free State into the Union, was purchased at the costly price of 95,000 square miles of territory, to be peopled with slaveholders and slaves, together with ten millions of dollars to secure her acquiescence in the arrangement. Besides this, Congress peremptorily refused to exclude slavery from the territories of New Mexico and Utah, so that it is far from improbable that these splendid countries may, hereafter, be added to the slave States of the United States; and, to crown all, it enacted the Fugitive Slave Law, by which every portion of the free States is made the hunting-ground of the slaveholders or their agents; and by which not only are all citizens forbidden, under heavy penalties, to aid a slave in his flight for freedom, but are required to assist the authorities in his capture, and to send him back again to all the degradation and horrors of his previous condition. This hideous law renders the exercise of the benign principles of the Gospel a crime, and must and will ever be regarded as a foul blot on the legislation of the United States. We are aware of the apologies which are too frequently urged in palliation, if not defence, of the system of slavery, by American citizens; but we know, at the same time, that, looked at in the light of their own declarations, of the claims of justice, and the duties of religion, these apologies are nothing worth. Slavery is a sin against God, a crime against humanity, which no reasonings can justify, and no circumstances can palliate. The plea set up, that the constitution of the United States admits of the existence of slavery, and sanctions legislation for its support, we leave to be justified by the Americans, if, indeed, they can justify it; but we would remind them, in the eloquent language of Lord Brougham, "that there is a law above all the enactments of human codes: it is a law written by the finger of God in the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man."

Every slave in the United States is "a chattel personal in the hands of his master, to all intents and purposes whatsoever," and can, therefore, be sold, given away, or bequeathed, at his will or caprice. Out of this fearful incident of slavery arises the deplorable fact, that sales of slaves, to the extent of from 70,000 to 80,000 *per annum*, take place, often under circumstances the most heart-rending and revolting: out of this terrible incident of slavery also

arises another fact, still more deplorable—namely, that neither the marital nor parental relation is recognised among slaves; and that, consequently, they are classed with beasts, in direct contravention of the Divine law, and in violation of the tenderest and most elevating susceptibilities of our nature. It is unnecessary to dwell on the atrocities that may be perpetrated on a slave, in such circumstances as these. The tree brings forth its appropriate fruits. It is enough to know that the slave is put without the pale of humanity and religion, and that the golden rule "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them," is never thought of being applicable to him.

But not only is the State guilty, deeply guilty, by its legislative and executive acts, in the support of slavery, ~~but~~ the Church is more so; it largely participates in the crime. Here is a statement which should make every American blush, and every Christian weep. The Methodists hold 219,563 slaves; the Baptists, 125,000; the Campbellites (Baptists), 101,000; the Episcopalians, 88,000; the Presbyterians (old and new school), 77,000; and other denominations, 50,000; in all, 660,563 slaves. Ministers, deacons, members, are alike implicated in this abominable iniquity; and we grieve to say that not a few ministers, holding a high position in the free States, sympathise with these men-stealers, and justify the worst legislation in defence of what they ~~improperly~~ term their property. The Rev. Dr. Moses Stuart, Congregationalist, says, in justification of the Fugitive Slave Bill, that "though one may pity the fugitive, yet the Mosaic law does not authorise the rejection of the claims of the slaveholders to their stolen or strayed property." The Rev. Dr. Taylor, Episcopalian, says, "Is that article in the constitution, providing for the delivery of fugitive slaves, contrary to the law of nature, of nations, or to the will of God? Is it so? Is there the shadow of a reason for saying it? I have not been able to discover it. Have I not shown you that it is lawful to deliver up, in compliance with their laws, fugitive slaves, for the high, the great, the momentous interests of these (Southern) States?" The Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring, Presbyterian, says, that "if by one prayer he could liberate every slave in the world, he would not dare to offer it." Another orthodox minister, the Rev. Mr. Rogers, says, "When the slave asks me to stand between him and his master, what does he ask? He asks me to murder a nation's life; and I will not do it, because I have a conscience—because there is a God." He proceeds to affirm, that if resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law should lead the magistracy to call the citizens to arms, their duty was to obey, and, "if ordered to take human life, in the name of God to take it." And he concludes by admonishing the fugitives to "hearken to the word of God, and to count their own masters worthy of double honour." Now, we ask, in sober earnestness, are such men as these to be received on our platforms, to fill our pulpits, or to be welcome to our fellowship and our homes? No; they must be rejected, that "they may be ashamed."

It is delightful to turn away from such men as these to the CHEEVERS, the WARD BEECHERS, the BARNES, and the BLANCHARDS, who have lifted up their voices, in eloquent protest, against the great sin of their nation. These men feel that the honour of their country is bound up with the removal of slavery; and, above all, they feel that the Gospel must be vindicated from the outrage which is done it, by slaveholders and their apologists. We would gladly make extracts from their writings on this great subject, but our space forbids. We must, however, give one extract from a sermon delivered by that eminent commentator, the Rev. ALBERT BARNES, so well known on both sides of the Atlantic. In reference to the subject of slavery, and the relation of the church to it, he says:—"Let all evangelical denominations but follow the example of the Quakers in this country, and slavery would soon come to an end. There is not vital energy enough—there is not power of influence and numbers enough, *out of the church*, to sustain it. Let every religious denomination in the land *detach itself* from all connexion with slavery, without saying a word against others; let the time come when in all the mighty demonstrations of Christians it can be announced that *the evil has ceased with them for ever*; and let the voice of each denomination be lifted up in kind but firm and solemn testimony against the system—with no 'mealy words,' with no attempt at apology; with no effort to throw the sacred shield of religion over so great an evil, and *the work is done*. There is no public sentiment in this land—there could be none created—that would resist such a testimony; there is no power *out of the church* that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained *in it*." We believe this, and, therefore, we ask British Christians to sustain the efforts of those "faithful brethren" who are labouring to secure this great and noble end.

The article on the immigration of labourers into Jamaica is deserving of the close attention of our readers on both sides of the Atlantic. We regret that we have not space for comment; we shall, however, endeavour to review the whole of this subject, in a future number of the *Reporter*.

We beg very earnestly to call the special attention of our readers to the appeal of the Anti-slavery Committee for funds, contained in another part of our columns. It is a rare thing for the Committee to make such an appeal; and they feel, in view of the great work before them, that they may very properly do so, and expect, with confidence, that the friends of the anti-slavery cause will meet it with a generous response.

OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.

ANOTHER ARREST IN BOSTON—CASE OF THOMAS SIMS.

Boston, Friday, April 4.

At a late hour last night, a fugitive slave, named Thomas Sims, was arrested while passing Endicott-street, by a deputy United States marshal, assisted by members of the police and watch. He at first supposed he was arrested for drunkenness; but as he reached the Court-house the true nature of the case was made known, when the cry of kidnapper was raised, and the prisoner drew a knife and stabbed officer Buckman in the groin. He was, however, safely locked in the Court-house. At about ten o'clock, an abolition lawyer, named Samuel E. Sewell, met Deputy Marshal Ridley in the street, and was so violent and abusive that he was sent to the watch-house, where he remained for an hour.

Later in the night, Fletcher Webster, Esq., found a watchman ringing the bell of King's Chapel, and supposing an alarm of fire had been raised by the abolitionists in order to collect a mob, he ordered the watchman to desist. Mr. Webster attempted to drag the man from the rope, and afterwards assaulted him. The officer called for assistance, and Mr. Webster was taken to the watch-house, and thence to the gaol. This morning the Court-house is completely surrounded by Marshal Tukey and his police force, who have drawn a chain completely about it. There is a large crowd about the place, few of whom are blacks. Sims came to this city about the 7th of March last. He is twenty-three years of age, and has a wife and several children in Savannah.

April 4.

The examination of the fugitive slave arrested last night was commenced this morning at nine o'clock before Commissioner G. T. Curtis. Seth J. Thomas appeared for claimant, and Hon. Robert Rantoul, Charles G. Loring, and S. E. Sewell, for the fugitive. The complaint was then read, alleging that Sims escaped from James Potter, rice planter, Chatham, Georgia, on the 22nd of February last. Several depositions of persons in Savannah were read to the effect that they knew Sims as the slave of James Potter. Some deposed that Sims had confessed that he was the slave of Potter, and also that his mother had acknowledged that both she and her son were the slaves of Potter.

Edward Burnett testified that he lived in Savannah; that he knew Thomas Sims, the prisoner at the bar; Sims had worked with him at bricklaying; had told him that he was the slave of Potter; also, heard his mother say that she and her son were the slaves of Potter.

John B. Bacon, the agent of the owner, testified that he had known Thomas Sims well for a long period of years; he has resided in Savannah, and was the slave of James Potter; had lived within sixty yards of his mother, and the prisoner passed my house every day going to his work; am positive that Sims is the man; have seen the mother of Sims pay over his wages to Potter in Sims's presence.

Defendant's counsel prayed for delay until Tuesday, but the commissioner only granted a postponement for twenty-four hours. The counsel for the defence stated that they believed Sims to be a free man, even under the laws of Georgia. The case was then adjourned until to-morrow, and the Court-house was cleared. Sims remains in a room in the Court-house, fitted up for such an emergency; and so far everything has been quiet. The police guard the Court-house. But few blacks are to be seen. Sims has, it is said, a wife and children who are free in Savannah, and who were about to join him.

The Supreme Court have just refused to grant a writ of habeas corpus in the case of Sims.

The following notice has been issued from the *Commonwealth* office, and posted about the streets:—

"Public Meeting.—Kidnappers in Boston.—Men of Boston, one of your fellow-citizens was last night seized by slave-hunters. He is in most imminent, deadly peril. The citizens of Boston and its neighbourhood are earnestly invited to assemble, without arms, in front of the State House, at half-past two, p.m., to consult for the public good."

The crowd continues large about the Court-house, and the blacks begin to appear in considerable numbers.

In the legislature to-day, the following petition was presented:—"That the use of the State-house yard be granted to the citizens of Massachusetts to hold a public meeting in the afternoon, to take into consideration the arrest of a citizen of Massachusetts, under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and to devise proper and legal measures for the defence and protection of citizens of Massachusetts."

Mr. Cushing, of Newbury, spoke in opposition to the petition, and moved that it be laid on the table. Mr. Keith, of Roxbury, moved that it be laid under the table. The motion to lay on the table was carried by 147 yeas to 113 nays.

The meeting of those opposed to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law was accordingly held on the Common. The meeting was called to order by the Rev. Mr. Colver. D. Howe was appointed chairman.

Wendell Phillips addressed the meeting. He spoke of the Court-house in chains; he hoped the people would come in from the country in such solid columns as to block up the streets and prevent the fugitive from

being carried off, except over their heads. He rejoiced that the law could not be executed except at the point of the bayonet, and behind chains. They won't dare, he said, to carry the fugitive out of the Commonwealth, except under the convoy of the guns of the Navy Yard. He spoke of Faneuil Hall being closed to them, and hoped that they would make the elms of the Common resound to the declaration that law or no law—constitution or no constitution—chains or no chains—this law shall not be enforced. Block the locomotives, tear up the rails, follow the fugitive to the borders of the State, if possible, to rescue him. He counseled every coloured man who had ever felt the chains of Southern oppression to resist to the uttermost, and as far as he was able he would stand by their side—the law for them was at an end. He urged the meeting to hold itself in readiness, with all the means at its command, to endeavour to stop to-morrow the execution of this statute. The government and legislature have refused us the means to try this issue, and we have the right to disobey it and meet the consequences. When priests and statesmen are traitors, the people must take up the reins.

The meeting here adjourned to Tremont Temple, where Rev. Theo. Parker was called up; he said that when he passed the Court-house this morning, and saw the chains which encompassed it, he imagined that he was in Vienna (and not in Boston) under martial law, and certainly not under the law of New England: he asked the meeting to pass the resolve, each for himself, that he would hold for evermore as infamous, any one who aids in the arrest or rendition of a fugitive slave. I am, he said, ready to do it, and can see but little difference between the African kidnapper and the Boston kidnapper. There are, at present, three kidnappers in Boston; find them out and point at them as they pass in the street; make them sick of Boston. He understood, from good authority, that they were intending to arrest two more fugitives to-night; he urged the meeting to form themselves into a Vigilance Committee, and keep a watch upon the movements of the bloodhounds.

Rev. Mr. Colver next said that the law was so obnoxious and inhuman that he would trample it under his feet. He went for absolute disobedience; he also would countenance no violence; but he asked the assembly to meet to-morrow at the Court-house in their strength, the people from the surrounding country would be there, he would be there, and if his presence upon such an occasion was inconsistent with his clerical profession, he would unfrock himself. He denounced those of his brother ministers who had counseled obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law as traitors to their country and their God, and called upon the meeting to again pass the resolution passed at Faneuil Hall, that constitution or no constitution, law or no law, no fugitive slave shall be carried out of Massachusetts.

After some further excited speeches the meeting adjourned, with the understanding that they were to meet at ten o'clock to-morrow around the Court-house. Some of the speeches denounced Daniel Webster as a disgrace to his country—a villain—a traitor to the North, which was received with mingled hisses and cheers. The number present at the Temple was about 1,000.

The Court-house is still surrounded with chains, and guarded by a large body of police officers. The fugitive is in a room in the third story, which is secured by six two-inch bolts upon the inside. Several military companies are at their armories in readiness for action, in case of any disturbance or attempt at rescue; indeed, every precaution has been taken to prevent a second Shadrach affair.

The city remains in an excited state. The square around the Court-house has been cleared once or twice of the crowd collected, by detachments of the city watch, and one or two, who refused to stir, were taken into custody; the square, however, is again half full. Sixty resolute men guard the Court-house inside, and others are ready at the different watch-houses upon the least alarm. No blacks are to be seen abroad. Knots of men are collected all over the city discussing the matter. The majority, it is said, are in favour of obedience to the law. The agent of the owner refuses to sell the slave; his orders are to take him out of Massachusetts, to test the law.

April 5.

The examination into the case of the fugitive slave Sims was continued this morning before the commissioner. The captain, mate, and a sailor of the brig *M. and J. C. Gilmore* were examined, and testified that they left Savannah for Boston on the 22nd of February; that they saw Sims on the wharf at Savannah, a few days before sailing; that he asked the cook for a situation, and was refused; when off Boston Light the prisoner was found by the mate, hid in the fore-castle; that he was confined in the vessel by the captain while in the harbour, but managed to escape on shore at South Boston, by forcing the lock off the cabin and stealing the brig's boat; that he told them he came on board the brig at Savannah the night before they sailed. This closed the evidence for the claimant.

Counsel for the defence then announced that they had no evidence to offer. An affidavit of the fugitive was then read, stating that his freedom was purchased by his father when he was five months old; that his free papers are now in the possession of Morris Porter, of Savannah, and that he desired delay to obtain them; that he never heard of James Potter,

his alleged master, until yesterday morning. No notice was taken of this paper.

Mr. Rantoul then announced that he designed to argue the constitutionality of this law, as to the right of a commissioner to sit upon the case, trial by jury, &c., and asked a postponement until Thursday. The Court would only grant till Monday, at 12 o'clock, when the argument will be heard.

The city remains quiet, but a large crowd is collected about the Court-house. No violence is manifested. The question as to the right of habeas corpus was subsequently argued before the Supreme Court, and refused.

. The latest mail from the United States has brought us information of the surrender of Sims to his claimant.

April 12.

After the decision of Judge Woodbury last night, that there was no ground to interfere with the certificate of Mr. Curtis remanding Sims, preparations began to be made to convey him back. The brig *Acorn* had been hauled to the end of Long Wharf, having been previously fitted up for an extra number of passengers.

When all was ready, word was given to the United States marshal, and Sims was brought down and placed in the centre of the square. He appeared to be in good spirits, his limbs being free from irons or handcuffs of any description. The procession was led by the United States marshal and his deputies, followed by the armed police—they proceeded through Court and State Streets, and down Long Wharf, followed by about one hundred abolitionists, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Colver. Not the least attempt at violence was made. Mr. Colver and other persons in the crowd occasionally denounced the proceedings, and called for the thunderbolts of Heaven to be poured down upon them. When the procession reached the Wharf, the brig was found to be all ready, with the steamer *Hornet* alongside, with her steam up. Sims was immediately taken into the cabin.

"The *Acorn* had two cannons on board to protect her from any assault on the passage. The word was given to let go the fastenings, and she was soon under way. About thirty police officers accompanied the vessel as far as the steamer went, as a protection. Four officers of this city, including U. S. deputy marshals Savin and Byrne, accompanying the fugitive in the vessel to Savannah. Just as the vessel was about to leave the wharf, some of the crowd sang several hymns, such as "From Greenland's icy mountains." "Oh! There will be mourning at the judgment-seat of Christ." "Be Thou, Oh God, exalted high," &c.

One man, just as Sims was going below, called out to him to preach liberty to the slaves; and as the brig was departing, Rev. Mr. Foster, orthodox minister of Concord, made the following

PRAYER.

Almighty God, Thou seest this poor man, one of thy children, borne away by oppressors; Thou art the friend of all who suffer wrong, and we have now no hope but in Thee; that hope is still unshaken; Thy promises endure for ever; and now we beseech Thee to show Thy power and love in blessing this dear brother, who is carried by force to the land of whips and chains. Oh! God, make him a missionary of power to awaken a love of justice and liberty that shall end in the speedy overthrow of the accursed system which now causes millions of bleeding hearts. In mercy, Heavenly Father, do Thou destroy the wicked power which rules us. Give us righteous men to administer just laws; forgive the wickedness of our rulers and lead them to true and lasting repentance. Pity the wretched man who now goes in fetters over the waves; pity and bless his brethren in chains: hasten the day when all men shall be free, and thine shall be the glory. Amen!

It was just five o'clock when he left. The Abolitionist Vigilance Committee met at half-past five, and passed a resolution, respectfully asking the people of Massachusetts to toll the bells in the several towns as the intelligence reaches them of the return of a fugitive slave from this Commonwealth. They have also appointed a meeting for public religious services on the occasion. A person with rather loud lungs, as the procession moved down State-street, recited the events of the Boston massacre that occurred in that street before the Revolution.

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE IN PITTSBURG.

The first case in Pittsburg under the famous Fugitive Slave Law of last Congress, came up for trial before Judge Irwin.

The prisoner gave his name as Woodson. He was arrested on a warrant issued by the United States Commissioner Sweitzer, and is claimed as a fugitive from the service of Miss Rhoda B. Byers, of Louisville, Kentucky. He was detained in the marshal's room until the arrival of Judge Irwin, when he was brought into court in irons. He had been arrested by S. Rust, agent for the claimant. Among the papers found on Woodson was a certificate of membership in the Methodist Episcopal church, dated in 1847.

Jasper E. Brady appeared as counsel for the plaintiff; Messrs. Wills, Reed, and Burns, for the defendant.

Mr. Brady said he did not feel that he had any apologies to make for his appearance in this case. He believed that the Southern men had a

right to protection in recovering their property. It was not his first appearance in behalf of claimants for fugitive slaves. He believed that Southern men were entitled to claim them under the act of Congress; and he made these preliminary remarks merely in view of the excitement and feeling in regard to the subject.

Power of Attorney was read, and objected to by Mr. Wills as insufficient, under the act of Congress.

William Reed sworn—Is acquainted with Rhoda B. Byers; was her guardian, but settled his accounts two years since; at that time Woodson had escaped. Witness was the owner's agent for hiring Woodson out.

Examined by Mr. Brady—Raised Rhoda B. Byers, and was her guardian. Woodson escaped from service in June, two years since. That is the man Woodson [pointing to the prisoner.] Has known Woodson for about eleven years. Always endeavoured to hire Woodson to such persons as he himself desired; for the last two years, he had hired him in a grocery store, where the work was easy. Witness acted in this as guardian for Rhoda B. Byers; was appointed by the Court. Is certain that the prisoner is the man. He, the prisoner, always went by the name of Woodson; his mistress knew him only by that name, though he may have changed it since.

Cross-examined by Mr. Wills—Woodson was always hired out in the city. Is certain that the prisoner is Woodson, the escaped slave. It may have been three years next June since he escaped; knows it is two at least; did not charge his memory particularly. Witness resides in Louisville. Woodson was employed in driving a cart for brickmakers.

Mr. Wills said, on the part of the defence, he would call witnesses as to the identity of the prisoner.

John Peck sworn—Knows the prisoner; has seen him frequently; his name is Gardiner; has known him about three years; thinks his first acquaintance with him was in the spring; does not know how long Woodson remained in Pittsburg, or where he went to when he left; Woodson was a member of the Methodist church in good standing; became acquainted with him in the church relations; he was an exemplary man.

Cross-examined—Woodson was an exhorter, a lay preacher in the church.

Judge Irwin—It is not important as to whether he belonged to any church. The testimony being concluded,

Mr. Brady said he saw no necessity of arguing the question; the testimony was clear as to the identity.

Mrs. Swisshelm, in her *Saturday Evening Visitor*, gives the result of this trial, with her own feelings and sentiments in view of its enormity, in the following stirring language:—

"Judge Irwin decided to deliver the man to the claimant, and his expressions of sympathy with him and the spirit of freedom are matters of no importance. 'Benj. S. Rust swore that he feared a rescue, and the marshal took the necessary steps for his protection.' The man was taken in irons to Louisville, where he is now in gaol. We have a private letter from a friend who has seen Woodson's wife. We were confined to our room yesterday by illness, and are too nervous to-day to write on this subject. The widowed wife is trying to raise funds to purchase her husband, and our strong anti-slavery men object to giving anything, on the ground that it would only be a premium on slave-catching—that Woodson cannot be sold South, for the South will not buy him, lest he put mischief into the heads of other pieces of property—that he cannot be kept in Kentucky, for he knows the way out of it. This may be right, and it may be wrong; but God help the man, his wife, and fatherless children! We cannot write, for our thoughts are at that humble hearth made desolate. He is, or was, a praying man, (he is a man no more,) and had a little freehold. There his children may kneel to ask for him, and their mother can say that he is gone—not to the grave, for there 'the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' Thousands of happy families kneel down every evening, in this our happy land, to pray! How many will remember these people in this their great affliction? It is not the quiet grave which stands between them and their protector, but the iron jaws of the slave-prison, and the sting of the slave-driver's lash.

"How do people learn to talk about these things when they come so near? We came to the city on purpose to give a full report of the whole matter, and now our head is aching, aching, and we can find no words. It is very terrible, and people look so calm and unconcerned; leading papers congratulate themselves and one another that law has been observed. The *Gazette* and *Journal* are so happy that all has been done decently and in good order. This offering upon the altar of our great national Moloch has been respectably presented, and the services went off well. Te Deums to the Union have been sung, thanksgivings offered up, the victim has been slain, the priests have sprinkled the altar with the blood, all have bowed towards Jerusalem, and each man returned to his home, there to take his baby upon his knee, look into the face of his wife, and forget the family ties that their hands have broken. The *Presbyterian Advocate* says never a word. Woodson does not believe in the Confession of Faith, and Mr. Annan feels no bonds of Christian fellowship near his heart. The *Tribune*, *Dispatch*, and *Enterprise*, have stood up manfully for truth and freedom, and deserve all honour and confidence for so doing.

The Judge is thought to have leaned very far over from mercy's side, and to have adjudged away a man's liberty on less evidence than would be required to convict one of petty larceny. The Mayor, too, called out the city police to aid the claimant, and our gaol was used to keep the man all night. When Sheriff Curtis learned he was there, he sent for Sweitzer to take him away. Then he was kept in irons, in a room of our public buildings, until Court hour. 'On the side of the oppressor there was power,' while the poor and the needy lifted up his hands in our midst, and there was none to deliver. Did the people of Alleghany county build the Court-house for a slave-pen? Do the people of Pittsburg endorse the doctrine that a man shall not live with his own wife and support his children? Is the family relation no longer to be sacred in our midst? Can any one be torn from his family on the oath of one man, and consigned to hopeless slavery,—and is there no redress? What is a Union worth that is to be maintained at this price? The old 'union with death and with hell' could scarcely have required more from its devotees."

JUSTICE AND LAW—HIGHER AND LOWER.

(From the "New York Tribune.")

The right of a man to himself is under adjudication at Boston—a grave question under any circumstances, and especially so under those actually existing. The man claimed as a chattel—Thomas Sims—labours under the double disadvantage of having a black skin, and having been reared in Georgia—a grave misfortune, doubtless, but which only the lowest of lower laws could construe into a crime. He says, and makes oath, that he is of right free even by slaveholders' law—that, while he was but an infant, his father bought him of his master—and his affidavit, we believe, has not been contradicted. The master has witnesses on hand to prove that Sims has for years been working for said master's benefit, paying over ten dollars per month indirectly to said master for the privilege of working for a living; which hard bargain Sims, finding warrant for it neither in natural justice nor even in slaveholders' law, is indisposed to persevere in. What he asks of mankind, of the laws, and of this "model republic," is simply permission to work for such wages as any one may see fit to pay him, and to receive the stipulated recompense to his own benefit, and that of his family, instead of handing it over to another man, more intelligent and capable than himself, who (this benighted "nigger" thinks) might more reasonably and justly work for his own living than suck it out of the marrow of such poor creatures as the aforesaid Sims, especially since the claimant has doubtless lands, cattle, and capital to help him make his living easily and rapidly, while Sims has only his two hands wherewith to earn the subsistence of himself, his wife, and several children. We must say that, without deciding whether Sims is or is not a slave by Georgia law, our sympathies are on his side, and we heartily hope that he may find deliverance from the yoke of bondage. If this hope is condemned by American Democracy and American Christianity, we must abide the consequences—so must they.

One question of the very gravest character is likely, we trust, to be raised in this Sims's investigation; namely, that of the legal and constitutional powers of United States Commissioners, so-called, to consign men into eternal slavery. A Justice of the United States Courts is nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate; his powers, his duties, are clearly defined by law; if he exceeds the former, or neglects the latter, he is liable to impeachment and punishment. To transfer the duties of the federal judiciary to an indefinitely numerous class of persons, known to the Fugitive Slave Law as "Commissioners," but utterly unknown to the federal constitution, appointed irresponsibly and with elastic and indefinite powers—this is a stretch of authority which at least demands investigation. The constitution guarantees that no man shall be deprived of life or liberty without "due process of law;" yet here is a multitude of functionaries who have come into view like toads after a shower, and who are sending men and women into eternal bondage, when they certainly would not venture to try and sentence any one on a charge of mail robbery, or counterfeiting the national coinage. The people have a right to know whence these men derived such extraordinary powers, and whether those who undertook to grant them had adequate authority for so doing. This is no cavil raised for the emergency. The right of these Commissioners would have been challenged and contested in Henry Long's case, had that not been transferred to a regularly appointed judge. At a highly respectable city meeting, held in Philadelphia on the 15th of last October,—when no slave case was pending,—the following resolves were reported by F. C. Treadwell, Esq. (a lawyer who has made the federal constitution the subject of careful study for many years), and were unanimously adopted, viz. :—

"Resolved—That the Fugitive Act lately passed by Congress to amend 'An Act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters, approved in February, 1793,' deviates in several important particulars from the constitution of the United States, and to the extent of such deviation is repugnant thereto, and hence void and of no binding effect, either upon courts, officers, or people.

"2. That the Fugitive Act aforesaid is repugnant to the constitution of the United States, in that it seeks to confer upon inferior officers, appointed by inferior courts, concurrent jurisdiction with the judges of the circuit and district courts of the United States, whereas, by the consti-

tution, the jurisdiction of all cases in law and equity, arising under the constitution, is vested wholly and exclusively in the courts of the United States.

"3. That inferior officers appointed by the courts are not courts, and cannot exercise jurisdiction as such in any case with or without the authority of the courts or of Congress.

"4. That the courts of the United States have power to issue writs of habeas corpus and all other writs not specially provided for by the statute, which may be necessary for the exercise of their respective jurisdictions, and that in all cases of arrest of alleged fugitives from service or labour, which may be brought before commissioners or other inferior officers, the judges of the courts of the United States, upon due application, are bound to issue writs of habeas corpus, and bring such cases and the respective parties to them before the courts for adjudication.

"5. That the judicial power of the United States has no more right to decline the exercise of a jurisdiction which is given, than to usurp that which is not given. The one or the other would be treason to the constitution. (Supreme Court, *Cohens v. Virginia*, Wharton's Rep. 404.)

"6. That the Fugitive Act aforesaid, in many other particulars too numerous to be pointed out in the brief resolutions of a public meeting, but particularly in its suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, is at war with the constitution and the liberty of the people of the United States, and we call upon the people of this Republic to meet in their primary assemblies, and to take such measures, by memorials to Congress or otherwise, as they may deem just and expedient to effect its immediate repeal."

While such grave questions are pending before the judicial tribunals of the country—questions involving not merely the liberty of a man, but the security of liberty in general—what should be the attitude of the public press? If every man charged with crime is to be presumed innocent until proved guilty—surely the man charged with no crime whatever, and not even suspected of any, unless preferring to work for the support of his own wife and children rather than to pamper some idler's luxury be a crime—should have at least the prayers of every sincere republican for his deliverance. He should be presumed his own man until a title to him had been legally established by some one else. And yet the following editorial from the *Satanic press* of Sunday is scarcely more than a fair specimen of the manner in which this and every case of an alleged fugitive from slavery is prejudiced, and made the occasion of the basest appeals to northern cupidity, by a majority of the cotton journals. Hear!

"The case of Sims, the fugitive slave, who had taken up his residence in Boston, was brought to a close yesterday, as far as the testimony was concerned; and there is very little doubt that he will be delivered over to the agent of his owner. The evidence as to his identity was overwhelming, and the counsel for the fugitive had nothing with which to rebut it. The further consideration of the matter was postponed to Monday, at twelve o'clock, in order to allow counsel to argue the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, and several technical points connected with it—such as whether the fugitive was entitled to a trial by jury, &c.,—all of which, we expect, will be decided against the fugitive.

"We cannot but praise the authorities of Boston, State as well as Federal, for the manner in which they conducted this case. *We have felt it our duty to censure them, in severe terms*, for their supineness in allowing Shadrach to be rescued, and for the absence of all preparations to enforce the execution of the law, or to have it vindicated, in that case. The rescue of that fugitive *inflicted a stigma on that city*, which could be wiped off in but one way, viz., by preventing a recurrence of it. We now take pleasure in saying that, up to this time at least, they have done their best to convince the whole country that the inhabitants of that city are a law-and-order-loving people, and that, no matter how much they may dislike the law, they will support it, as being the expression of the will of the majority of their fellow-citizens throughout the country. They have shown that the Garrisons and Phillipses, and other miserable and despicable fanatics, do not control their city, and that, despite the ravings of these incendiaries, they will discharge their duty to the constitution, the Union, and their Southern fellow-citizens. The eyes of the whole country have been riveted on Boston since the arrest of Sims. No one cared about the slave, as a fugitive, nor his value. It is the principle involved in the case which made it important. For the third time, an effort was made to ascertain whether or not the people of that city, and of Massachusetts, would comply with their constitutional duties, or whether they would disregard them, under cover of the infamous higher law doctrine propounded by William H. Seward, and adopted as gospel by the abolition fanatics throughout the Northern States. Thus far, at least, in this case, the whole horde of disorganisers, from Seward down to Garrison, have met with a defeat, notwithstanding their violent appeals to the public to arm themselves, and resist the execution of the law by force. Boston has covered herself with glory, and rendered the ultras of the South powerless."

Does any man believe that the author of the above is heartily favourable to freedom anywhere, except in the gratification of his own appetites? What a mockery must be the pretence of sympathy with Kossuth, Mazzini, Mitchell, or their compatriots, by the craven soul who can thus hound on his fellow-citizens to the work of depriving an innocent man of liberty for ever, when no fault is even alleged against him but impatience under slavery? Can it be that, if Europe's illustrious exiles for liberty's sake shall be enabled to reach our shores, they will be compelled to grasp in amity the filthy hands which for base lucre could pen such sentiments as those above quoted?

CAN MORAL OBLIGATION BE DESTROYED BY LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS?

REMARKS ON THE CHARGE OF JUDGE SPRAGUE, IN THE CASE OF THE FUGITIVE SHADRACH, BY THE REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

When our legislators and judges turn moralists by authority, and

become our religious teachers, enforcing their moral and religious opinions as despotic law, by virtue of the supremacy of the powers that be, and without any appeal to the Divine Word as the guide and enlightener of conscience, it is time to examine narrowly both their pretensions and their teachings.

A charge has recently been delivered by Judge Sprague, of Boston, to the Grand Jury at the Session of the United States District Court, which has been widely circulated, and in many of the public journals applauded, but which contains sentiments and instructions that go to destroy the very foundations of morality and religion, and render conscience itself a nullity, or a creation of merchandise and compact, having no obligation but expediency, and no guide or law but the organised will of the political community.

We must show the immorality of these teachings, in the words of the Judge. He is distinctly and avowedly undertaking to set forth "the moral aspects of the subject," and in speaking of laws regarded as "unjust and immoral," he undertakes to promulgate a judicial charge concerning the duty of those who so regard them. "In their view," says the Judge, "such laws are inconsistent with the justice and benevolence, and against the will of the Supreme Lawgiver, and they emphatically ask, which shall we obey, the law of man, or the will of God? I answer, obey both. * * * *Unjust and oppressive laws* may indeed be passed by human governments. *But if Infinite and Inscrutable Wisdom permits political society, having the power of human legislation, to establish such laws, may not the same Infinite and Inscrutable Wisdom permit and require the individual, who has no such power, to obey them?*"

A principle is here laid down by a Judge upon the bench, which strikes at the very existence and authority of morality and justice. A principle is laid down, which, if it prevailed, if this charge were listened to, and its teachings believed and obeyed, would destroy the difference between good and evil, and make power, in the hands of depraved beings, the authoritative and just sanction of *unjust* and oppressive law.

The doctrine is barefaced and evident, there is no loop-hole of retreat, nor any possibility of mistake. The point mooted is the obligation to obey or disobey unjust and immoral law; and this religious casuist and learned Judge decides, that although *unjust* law be passed, *confessedly unjust*, yet, since Infinite and Inscrutable Wisdom permits political society, having the power of human legislation, to establish such law, the same Divine Wisdom may require the individual, who has not this power, to obey it. The whole decision is thrown upon the bare fact of *power* or *not power*.

Now, to apply the language of Rev. Dr. Spencer, of Brooklyn, because we are unwilling to trust ourselves with epithets not highly sanctioned for the reprobation of such immorality, "We never heard of a more abominable doctrine." All that has ever been asserted as to the propriety of *resisting* unjust law, cannot begin to compete in abominableness with the sinfulness of such immoral teaching as to the very foundation and nature of morality. The decision of this Judge would sanction all the prevalent and powerful evils that ever domineered over society, the successful crimes that, with power to uphold them, have ever been committed on earth. This decision and charge of this Judge would sanctify every unjust, tyrannical, and cruel edict that ever emanated from wickedness and power united, in our world. The inscrutable wisdom of God has permitted such wickedness; therefore, the inscrutable wisdom of God requires every helpless individual to obey it!

On these principles, every wicked law ever passed by tyrannical governments, from that of Pharaoh downwards, ought to have been obeyed, and none ever disobeyed or resisted. On these principles, the Hebrew midwives, at the command of Pharaoh, ought to have put every man-child of the Israelites to death as soon as born; for the same Inscrutable Wisdom that permitted Pharaoh to establish such a law, for political reasons of State expediency, also permitted and required all individuals, without power, remorselessly to obey it. On these principles, when the idolatrous kings and governments of Israel and Judah set up the worship of Baal and Moloch by law enforced with power, and compelled the people to pass their children through the fire, the subjects of those kings were bound to obey the diabolical requisition; for the same Inscrutable Wisdom that permitted such laws to be established with power, also permitted and required the individual, having no such power, unhesitatingly to obey them. On the same principles, the laws of the Spartan government, making stealing a public and private virtue, were to be obeyed; for that government had the power, under Inscrutable Wisdom, to pass such laws and establish them. They were part of the public code. * * * *

If ever the god of this world was successful in blinding the minds of men, that they should not see the distinction between vice and virtue, sin and holiness, justice and injustice, it is in persuading them to the promulgation of such opinions. If ever he was successful in putting lies into the fountains of supposed truth and righteousness, and sending their streams, tainted with death, through the minds of a community, it is in the spread of such teachings from the highest judicial authorities. Such an attempt to confound morality and immorality, justice and injustice, in a civilised State, has seldom been witnessed. It used to be supposed, that

of law nothing less could be said than that her seat and authority were in the bosom of God. The greatest statesman and most extraordinary letter-writer of our country has reiterated this sentiment. But now it seems that her seat is in the bosom of Power, and that obedience to *unjust* law is a sacrifice especially agreeable to God, as recognising an Infinite and Inscrutable Wisdom in the permission of power to establish such law, and an inscrutable obligation of obedience on the part of those who have not such power.

The words of a Judge should be well weighed, especially on so great and important an occasion. It may be said of Judge Sprague, that this was an unguarded portion of his charge, and ought not to be too severely scrutinised. We could the more easily pardon an unguarded expression, if it were on the side of God, humanity, and justice; "something," as Burke once said, "is to be pardoned to the spirit of liberty." But this immoral casuistry is put forth to prepare the mind for obedience, with alacrity, to oppressive and unrighteous law. It is studied sophistry, and its tendency is to obliterate all moral distinctions, and to sear and darken the common conscience of the country. But it *may* have the effect to alarm and stimulate that conscience; it *may* help to produce a healthful reaction on the side of moral obligation as revealed, not in political society, but in God's Word. And if the publication of such sophistry produce this result, it will not have been in vain. * * * *

Throughout the charge of Judge Sprague, though speaking on the authority of conscience, and discussing the question as to what ought to be its guide, there is not a single suggestion as to the existence or authority of the Word of God. But of this we must speak in another article. The subject is too important, too sacred, too solemn, to be lightly taken up, superficially treated, or carelessly abandoned. The theory of the upholders of slavery in our world, in regard to civil government, is on the way to perfection as a system. Its development shows that they regard *might* as *right*; that they consider *power* as ordained of God for government, and its decisions in the form of law as in every case justice; that the bare fact of law constitutes obligation, because it emanates from *power*; that the same God who has permitted the establishment of the power, does, in every case, by that very permission, require obedience to the decisions of *power*; and that, although those decisions, before they stood announced as law, might have been unjust and immoral in the sight of God, yet, being put into the form of law with *power* for their enforcement, the same God who *permitted* that which was contrary to his will and righteousness to be established, permits and requires obedience to it; so that what was sin before power put it into law, becomes, by that power and law, holiness, through the sanction of Almighty God!

But, after all, it is not so surprising that such a theory should be broached from the bench of civil justice, as that the example of such casuistry should have been set by some of our religious teachers.—It has been distinctly asserted, in a religious newspaper, that "the law may be worse in the eye of God than it can be in the judgment of man, and yet it may be the will of God that we should obey this most odious command. It may be true," this teacher of morality and religion continues, "that if an act were not commanded by statute, to perform it would bring us in direct conflict with the will of God; while not to perform the same act, when the statute of man requires it, would involve us in a conflict as real and as criminal."

This theory seems to be that the bare fact of law, with power, changes the nature of right and wrong. Power is ordained of God; whatsoever is permitted of God in this way, is ordained of him; and whatsoever is permitted of God in the way of power, is sanctioned and required in the way of obedience, although, before the fact of the power existed, that very thing may have been unjust and immoral. This theory, with the casuistry put forth in support of it, has prevailed so far, that even in the minds of some good men there seems to be a feeling that there must be some inherent quality in law which converts sinfulness itself into duty.—*New York Independent*.

ADDRESS OF THE GLASGOW FEMALE ASSOCIATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY TO THEIR CHRISTIAN SISTERHOOD IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The following admirable address, said to be the production of a well-known D.D. in Glasgow, we have much pleasure in presenting to our readers:—

"Dear Friends,—We address you as our fellow-Christians, and, we trust, in the spirit of our common faith, which is essentially the spirit of love—love to God, to Christ, to the people of God, and to mankind.

"It is a principle of which you will at once admit the soundness, that whatever influence for good man or woman possesses, the possession of it constitutes its owner God's steward, for its appropriate and faithful use; and at the same time that the 'meek and quiet spirit' which the Divine word requires as a characteristic of Christian womanhood, is not at all incompatible with decision of Christian principle, and with the determined advocacy, within woman's peculiar sphere, of a corresponding practice.

"As American citizens, you feel a deep and warm interest in the

honour, as well as in the general prosperity of your country; and, as subjects of the King of Zion, you feel an interest still deeper and warmer in the glory of His name, the credit of His truth, the authority of His laws, and the progress of His kingdom. We sympathise with you in these feelings; and our object in now addressing you, is to point your attention anew, with all affection and with all earnestness, to the stain upon your country's honour, the hindrance to your country's prosperity, and the peril to your country's safety, as well as the foul stigma that is affixed to the name, the truth, and the authority of our Divine King, and the obstacles thus thrown in the way of the advancement of His spiritual dominion, by the prevalence among your countrymen, to so frightful an extent, of the accursed system of slavery.

"You cannot but be aware that so long as this state of things continues to exist, American freedom must continue to be, as it now is, the taunt of the civilised world—the admirable principles on which your national constitution is based, no better than 'great swelling words of vanity,'—and liberty a word which no American can utter without a blush. We speak plainly and faithfully. Be not angry with us. We earnestly wish this foul blot wiped away from the otherwise glorious escutcheon of your country; and we wish you, and urge you, to put forth whatever description and amount of legitimate influence you possess, for effecting its speedy and entire removal. And while we press this upon you as a duty you owe to true patriotism, we press you also, as fellow-Christians, that you steadily seek, by the same influence, the severance of so flagrant an outrage on the spirit of Christian truth, and the letter of Christian law, at once from the personal and the national profession of Christianity.

"The spirit of Christian truth is the divine spirit of righteousness and mercy in unison; and 'the letter of Christian law' is, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them.' We lay it down, therefore, as a maxim, on the principle of this law unassailable, that, regarding slavery under the one simple aspect of PROPERTY IN MAN, apart from all the 'wrong and outrage' which in practice have so lamentably characterised it, the only man on earth who can consistently hold a fellow-man as a slave, is the man who, before God and the world, can lay his hand upon his heart and say, '*I should like to be such a slave myself.*' Is there such a man to be found?—such an anomaly in his species—such a recreant to all correct principle, to all manly and noble feeling, to all the very instincts of his nature? Not in Britain, we are sure. And will you allow it to be said or thought that the solitary satire on humanity is to be found in the American Union?

"We had gladly, in common with all the friends of America on this side the Atlantic, indulged the hope that there was a progress among your countrymen toward a better state of things. But your recently enacted 'Fugitive Slave Law' has, in no small degree, dashed these hopes. It may indeed turn out—and would it may!—in the providence of Him who so frequently and so mysteriously brings good out of seeming evil, that the violent collision between this iniquitous and oppressive statute, and the principles of liberty in the national mind, may have the effect, by a natural and salutary re-action, of forwarding the cause which it appears framed and fitted to retard.

"By the terms of this statute, 'all good citizens' are laid under obligation to do what all good Christians are bound by a higher obligation to refuse to do. The authority of man is on the one side; on the other, the authority of God; so that the choice, however reluctant and painful, cannot, for a moment, be doubtful, with any one who owns the validity of the maxim, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' It is by a human right that the *property* is the *master's*; it is by a Divine right that the *liberty* is the *slave's*. The right of the slave is imprescriptible. It is his birthright as a creature of God. The unjust infringement of it by another does not cancel it. When, as a fugitive, he acts upon it, he does not resume what he has lost. He has *not* lost it. He has lost the liberty, but not the right to liberty. If, by force or by fraud, a man is robbed of his property, the property is still his; and he violates no right of another, but only asserts his own, if, when opportunity offers, he resumes it. This is what is done by the fugitive slave. He reclaims *his* property—no matter whether it be from the original robber, or from the re-setter, [*i.e.* in *Scots law*, a receiver of stolen goods.] It is still his. And he who, in such circumstances, intercepts his flight, takes part with the robber and the re-setter against the rightful owner—he acts in the face of every natural and revealed obligation; he prefers obeying man to obeying God; he violates, in spirit and in letter, 'the Royal Law'—doing to another what he would deprecate being done by another to himself.

"By this Bill, the Christian portion of American citizens, and even such of them as acknowledge no *higher laws* than those of nature and conscience, are thus placed in a most embarrassing dilemma. We fondly trust that there will be principle enough, among the *former*, especially, to whom we more immediately address ourselves, to act up to the emergency, and that thus the rising tide of *public opinion and feeling* (now to so great an extent the arbiter of the destinies of nations) may ultimately and speedily roll away on its bosom the national reproach.

"What a glorious lesson might America now read to the civilised and uncivilised world, were she but induced to bring her practice up to her principles—to act consistently—to testify her regard for righteousness by

the sacrifices which righteousness demands of her—to show her love of freedom, and the blessings which freedom bestows, by freely bringing the offering, were it even a hecatomb, to freedom's altar.

"Let the gentle force (the gentler, remember, the mightier, as well as the more in accordance with woman's character) of feminine earnestness and feminine persuasion, warm from the heart of pity and piety, be assiduously put forth by each and all of you, in the spheres in which you are respectively called to move, with the view of bringing about this 'consummation so devoutly to be wished.' God 'send prosperity' to your efforts! Let that prosperity be sought and secured by prayer. Then may American and British Christians come together in unfettered and delightful communion. And then may the two countries—the mother and the daughter—united by the bonds of a common freedom and a reciprocal feeling of obligation and dependence, become, in friendly rivalry, under the smile and blessing of the God of nations, the glory and the joy of the world!

"In name, and by appointment of the ladies of the Association, we are, dear friends,

"Sincerely and affectionately yours,

"B. ARNEIL, Acting President.

"AGNES ROBERTSON, Treasurer.

"MARY MUIR,

"ELIZABETH SLIMAN, } Secretaries.

"Glasgow, Wednesday, March 12, 1851."

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF A CORRESPONDENT, DATED NEW YORK, APRIL 3RD, 1851, ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW, AND ITS OPERATION.

We made as strong an effort as we could to prevent Henry Long being remanded to slavery. For seventeen days we maintained the contest in the Courts. If the Judge of the State Court had done his duty, Long would have been liberated. While the question of legality of the person claiming to be an United States Commissioner was under consideration, the Judge, instead of appointing an officer to take the custody of Long, allowed the United States marshal to retain him. Had an officer of the State Court held him and the Judge proceeded to decide the case, Long would probably have escaped. He had no opportunity to do so when a new process was commenced, because he was held by the United States officer.

I do not think the persons indicted at Boston for the charge of aiding Shadrach to escape can be convicted.

The Fugitive Slave Bill is not popular anywhere. Interested politicians, manufacturers, merchants, and subservient preachers, pretend to justify or excuse it; but it is distasteful to the great body of the people, especially those who reside in the country towns. It may remain on the statute-book; but if so, it will become a dead letter. Some good effects have followed the enactment of the bill; the people are discerning the nature of their obligations, the meaning of the constitution, their rights, &c. They are beginning to find that when a man takes an oath, or affirmation, to support the constitution, he is bound by his oath, or affirmation, to oppose every unconstitutional enactment.

I continue to read the *Reporter* with interest. The consistent and untiring efforts of your Committee act beneficially upon the anti-slavery body in this country.

To human view the system of slavery seems to be in the ascendant. Our profligate politicians, and their no less profligate supporters, seem disposed to yield everything to the slave power; but the leaven of anti-slavery is working among the masses. It will leaven the whole lump. This belief encourages us to go forward, relying upon the promises of Him who has declared He will break the rod of the oppressor.

LIBERIA AND ITS SLAVERY.—THE PAWN SYSTEM.

The following extract is taken from a work lately published, entitled, *Dahomey and the Dahomans*, by FREDERICK E. FORBES, Comr., R.N., being journals of two missions to the king of Dahomy, and residence at his capital in the years 1849 and 1850.

"The Liberian people are, doubtless, held up as an example to the general state of the African, but I prefer not instancing that state farther than to prove I have not overlooked it. For in Liberia there is as much, if not more, domestic slavery—that is, the buying and selling of God's image—as in the parent state of America, over which flaunts the flag of liberty (?) It is difficult to see the necessity or the justice of the negro who escapes from slavery on one side, crossing the Atlantic to enslave his sable prototype on the other—yet such is the case; and so long as it lasts, notwithstanding the attractive reports that emanate from this new republic, it cannot be held as an example of future good, but if possible should be remodelled, even at the expense of internal revolution, or even total annihilation. I doubt if many benevolent Christians in this country are aware, that the model republic is, in reality, a new name and form of slavery in enslaved Africa, and until the system be altered, totally unde-

serving of the high support and liberal charity it receives from the benevolence of Englishmen.

"The system of domestic slavery is by no means confined to the Liberian portion of civilised Africa. Pawns (as the fashion terms the slaves on the Gold Coast) are received and held by Englishmen indirectly, and are, to all intents and purposes, their slaves. The plan adopted is this,—the merchant takes unto himself a *femme du pays*, and she manages his establishment. Nor does he inquire how she hires his servants. Her mode is to accept pawns, i. e., purchase slaves, by receiving man, woman, and child in liquidation of debt—in other words, selling goods to native merchants, who for convenience leave slaves in payment. These pawns are as directly slaves to their masters as any slaves in the United States, but cannot be sold out of the country. I myself am aware of one *femme du pays* of a British merchant being the owner of forty pawns, who perform the household and other services of the master, and are, except in name, slaves. His money purchased them, and they obey his commands on pain of corporeal punishment, and draw him to and fro in his carriage when taking exercise. How far is this removed from actual slavery?"—Vol. I. pp. 147—150.

The following articles, having reference to the above extract, have appeared in the *Athenæum*, which we give at length:—

"It is not many weeks since we reviewed Commander Forbes's book on 'Dahomey and the Dahomans';—and we then referred, with regret, to the author's charge against the colony of Liberia—a colony expressly established for the gradual enfranchisement of American slaves, and for the planting of a free black population in the very region of the slave-trade itself. That charge was, that the evil principle which the colony was set up to overthrow had become one of its own institutions,—that a community founded to extirpate slavery was itself a trafficker in slaves. Few things could be more calculated to discourage the friends of humanity than a failure like this. It would be one of the most melancholy facts in the history of human corruption. Liberia is now a sovereign and independent State—occupying an extent of sea-board not less than 500 miles in extent—having, we believe, a population of 250,000 souls; and becoming, therefore, powerful for good or for evil. On both sides of the Atlantic, they who long for the extinction of the accursed traffic have been looking with intense interest to the growth of Liberia,—as a spreading organisation, powerful in its ultimate development to effect that before which the flag of England—that has beaten down so many other powers—fails hopelessly. An expanding settlement like this is the true blockade. The conversion of such an engine of deliverance into a means of spreading the bondage would be a sin, before which the philanthropist might well despair of the final triumph of his cause. We are glad, therefore, to be called on to give a contradiction to the statements of Commander Forbes. It is a fundamental law of the constitution of this young State that slavery cannot exist therein; and we have the assurance of parties conversant with what is doing there, that the practice conforms to this profession. We gladly give insertion to the following letter.

"Much commendation is justly due to the zeal of the naval officers who have been engaged in the arduous service of suppressing the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, in which they have evinced their cordial abhorrence of the slave-trade and slavery; yet, whilst we should be sorry to see any diminution of this feeling, we may be allowed to deprecate its leading to any misapprehension regarding the important influence which the republic of Liberia is exerting against both of those iniquitous systems. We make this remark in allusion to an extract from a recent book of Commander Forbes, which has appeared in the *Athenæum* and some other papers, and which is evidently calculated to disparage that infant State. We would therefore beg to observe, that Lieut. Forbes has not visited Monrovia; that the case of the pawns which he describes occurred at a British settlement; and if, as we have learned, he observed that one or two Liberian citizens, at the verge of the recently acquired territory, had fallen into this local method of obtaining native labour, it must, while deeply to be regretted, be regarded as altogether exceptional, and totally at variance with the constitution of the State,—the 4th section of which expressly says, 'There shall be no slavery within this Republic, nor shall any citizen, or any person resident therein deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.' In further justification of the Liberians, we may quote a passage from Capt. Dunlop, R.N., who had numerous opportunities of becoming acquainted with Liberia in 1848, 49, and 50. In a letter, now before us, in which he eulogises Liberia and its President, he says,—'I am perfectly satisfied no such thing as domestic slavery exists in any shape amongst the citizens of the Republic, and their laws most strictly prohibit slave dealing and slavery in all its phases.' To the same effect, Capt. the Hon. Jos. Denman, R.N., says, in a letter, in relation to the statement alluded to,—'When I was in Liberia, in 1835, and subsequently in 1840 and 1841, I very frequently visited the then colony. At those periods no foundation existed for such charges.' In the evidence before the House of Lords, in 1849, Sir C. Hotham's testimony is equally strong in favour of Liberia. Fortunately, a remarkably cheap and highly interesting volume, 'Africa Redeemed, the Means of her Relief illustrated by the Growth and Prospects of Liberia,' just issued by Nisbet & Co., of Berners Street, will afford the public a valuable history of the new State. We are, &c.

'ELLIOT CRESSON.
'THOMAS HODGKIN.'

A subsequent number of the *Athenæum* gives the following:—

"We have received a communication from Commander Forbes, in which, in answer to the letter of Mr. Cresson and Mr. Hodgkin, which appeared in our columns last week, he persists in the statements relating to slavery in the 'Emancipation' State of Liberia, which appeared in his work on 'Dahomey and the Dahomans.' We publish Commander Forbes's answer as a matter of course. Of the facts in dispute we ourselves know nothing:—but they are of great importance,—and we regard their settlement one way or the other with much interest. The integrity of Commander Forbes as a witness we fancy that no one intends to ques-

tion;—but if he has made any mistake, by which this infant State is erroneously represented as converting to its own use the sin which it was conceived and born to overthrow, it is fitting that the stain on its name should be unequivocally removed. If not, it is desirable that the philanthropist should know he has lost another hope; and that—strange as it may, and must, seem to him—he has in slavery a principle to fight which baffles him even when he meets it under what seem the most favourable conditions, and with the arms best suited to his warfare. Commander Forbes appeals to us as follows:—

"Army and Navy Club, April 8.

"In reference to the article on Liberia in the last number of the *Athenæum*, signed Elliott Cresson and Thomas Hodgkin, I feel called on to give some explanation.

"On the 24th of March, Mr. Hodgkin very politely requested that I would give my authority for the statements in my work ('Dahomey and the Dahomans'), referring to Liberia, adding, 'Thou wilt observe that I am not calling thy own accuracy in question; but the assertions to which thou hast given circulation are so strangely at variance with the accounts which I have received from actual visitors, that I feel deeply interested in searching them to their foundation.'

"Had Mr. Hodgkin published my answer, along with the letter of himself and Mr. Cresson, I should not have had here to continue the controversy. It was as follows:—

'Forest, Windsor, March 26.

"My dear Sir,—You are right in your conjecture, that I have not visited Monrovia; although for six months I was stationed within twenty-five miles of Cape Masurada, and at Cape Mount met many Liberian citizens. That the citizens of Liberia are guilty of buying and holding slaves I had ocular demonstration; and I know personally two Liberian citizens, * *, sojourners at Cape Mount, who owned several slaves, 'in the general use of the term,' but not in its legal sense, as regards the treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade, as these slaves were what are termed domestic slaves, or pawns, and not intended for foreign slavery. These pawns, as I have stated and believe, are as much slaves as their sable prototypes in the parent States of America; and my informants acquainted me that almost all labour in Liberia was derived from a system of domestic slavery.

"Of domestic slavery in Liberia there are two classes:—the one common to all Africa, and practised by the aboriginal inhabitants for the most part; the other not much to be complained of, if not extended,—by taking servants, helps, apprentices, or pawns (choose the expression), obliging them to labour, clothing, feeding, and instructing them.

"In proof that I did not state without foundation that Liberian citizens held slaves,—I will conclude by instancing that a citizen of the Republic applied to me, as commander of one of her Majesty's ships, to procure for him pawns, of value to the amount of goods of which he had been despoiled during a civil war at Cape Mount.

'I am, &c. F. E. FORBES, Com., R.N.'

"P.S. The asterisks in the copy of my letter to Mr. Hodgkin supply the place of the names of the two slaveholders at Cape Mount therein mentioned as examples,—which names I gave, in confidence, to Mr. Hodgkin."

COOLIE IMMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the Royal Gazette.)

Several important questions will be brought before the Combined Court during the present session; but none of more importance than Coolie immigration. It is to be trusted that the course pursued by the Court on this subject will be marked by extreme caution; for the consequences to the colony of one false step at this crisis will be most disastrous.

It is almost needless to repeat that the position of the Coolie question is now this:—In the early part of last year the Combined Court agreed to the renewal of immigration from the East Indies, on the express condition that the public should not be responsible for the return passages of the immigrants; the Court afterwards agreeing to appropriate £200,000 of the parliamentary loan to immigration, the greater portion of which amount, it was contemplated, would go to meet the future expenses of immigration from India. The Court of Directors of the East India Company, however, on the resolutions of the Combined Court on this subject being submitted to them by Earl Grey, have refused to allow immigration to take place from their territories to this colony, unless the Combined Court rescind that part of the resolutions relating to return passages, and consent to grant such passages at the public cost. Now, under these circumstances, the great point to be decided is, shall we continue Coolie immigration, clogged with the onerous burthen of the return passages, or stop it altogether, allowing the East India Company to keep their own Coolies, and find work for them in India, if they can?

Now, we candidly confess, if the colony was in such a situation as to be prepared, annually, out of its own ordinary revenue, to pay for Coolie immigration according as it should go on, we, for our own part, rather than not have Coolies, would be disposed to submit to the exactions of the East India Directors, and guarantee the Coolies their passages home to India after five years' service. In that case we might, indeed, think that the colony was going rather extravagantly to work; but we should look upon the extravagance as justifiable, because it would be provided against out of our existing means, and would not run us into debt. But the case is very different when one comes to reflect that we can now obtain no more Coolies from India except by the assistance of a large sum of borrowed money, which we agreed last year to take up from the Home Government for the general improvement of the country, and for the repayment of which we have pledged certain sources of our revenue for the long term of twenty years. Now, we think, under such circumstances,

that we ought, in justice to ourselves and to posterity, to expend every farthing of the loan, for which we shall pay so dearly, with the utmost forethought, economy, and judgment.

A very little calculation will show how hard a bargain Coolie immigration will prove to the colony, conducting it with borrowed money, if we are to send back the Coolies to India at the end of five years, or, what comes to the same thing, give them *douceurs* in money for relinquishing this privilege.

On a series of resolutions, moved by Mr. Croal, and adopted by the Combined Court in January last year, the Court called for an importation of 10,000 Coolies from the East Indies in the course of the present season. How many more the Combined Court may expect in future seasons, if return passages are to be allowed, we are not aware; but sure we are, if those passages are to be granted by the colony, honourable members may spare themselves the necessity, in future years, of moving any similar resolutions; for if the £200,000 left of the loan is to pay for bringing these 10,000 Coolies out here, and then sending them back, (and from what other source the money is to come from, we should be glad to know), not a penny will be left for importing any other Coolies, or for any other purpose whatever. The loan ordinances which were passed last year, and afterwards confirmed by the Queen in council, provide that, out of the money borrowed on loan, not only shall the expenses of importing immigrants be met, but also those of returning them back to their own country. Now, what these latter expenses are, as regards Coolies, we have abundant proof at this very moment, when a number of Coolies, who have relinquished their right to be sent back to India, are being paid fifty dollars a head out of the colony chest. We do not grumble at this expenditure; on the contrary, we think it judicious; for, as these people have a right, which cannot be denied, to be sent home, it is manifestly better to give them fifty dollars a head to stay here, than to spend that sum in getting rid of them. We may, then, on the supposition that return passages are to be allowed, estimate that at the end of five years fifty dollars will be required on each of these 10,000 Coolies, ordered, or to be ordered from India, in conformity with Mr. Croal's resolutions. That, of itself, will take 500,000 dollars, or fully £100,000; and if we suppose an equal sum laid out on bringing them here—and they could hardly be brought for so little—we shall at once see that the whole disposable amount, £200,000, of the loan from which we expect such wonders, *has already been forestalled to meet our existing order for 10,000 Coolies*; in other words, that we have spent in imagination the entire loan before it has been received, and that the entire benefit of it will begin and end with these 10,000 Coolies.

We implore the Combined Court to pause upon what they are about—to weigh matters well—to scrutinise figures narrowly—before they arrive at a final decision on a subject of such deep and vital importance to the colony. We implore them to consider that, instead of a blessing, the loan will prove a curse to the community, if its benefits are to be recklessly concentrated, as it were, on one point of time, and on one object, so fugitive in its nature, that the whole benefit of it will expire in five years from this date.

Miscellaneous.

EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.—Letters from Dr. Overweg, dated Tintellus, the 27th of October, 1850, have just been received by his Excellency the Chevalier Bunsen and Miss Overweg. From these letters and from some previous communications we learn the following particulars respecting the kingdom of Air and its inhabitants.

The aspect and fertility of the country round Tintellus, the residence of the Prince En-Nur, are not such as the travellers had anticipated on crossing the Northern frontier. The Wadys were there covered with verdant vegetation, furnishing food for numerous goats, sheep, oxen and asses, the rearing of which affords the inhabitants ample occupation and subsistence. Selufiet (in the northern portion of the kingdom) lies in a broad and fertile Wady, and has plantations of palms, as well as gardens, in which gessug, maize, and wheat are cultivated. But further to the south the Wadys decrease in fertility; gardens, corn-fields, and palms disappear, and only goats, asses, and a few sheep find sufficient pasture. The population, however, is much more numerous in the southern portion than in the northern, and round Tintellus villages are met with every half-hour. The inhabitants, who do not seem to be over-fed, live entirely on the productions of Soudan,—such as gessug, maize, rice, and butter,—in exchange for which they supply Soudan with salt. En-Nur is a powerful prince, as he is the greatest salt-merchant. Every year he takes to the south from two to three thousand camels laden with salt, and returns with slaves and provisions. These great yearly caravans are accompanied by nearly all the male members of the population, who have second families in Soudan living in villages of their own; so that these female colonies are alternately left without husbands.—*Athenæum*.

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The following subscriptions have been received since our last, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A SOIREE of the Members and Friends of the Society will be held at the FREEMASONS' HALL, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, on MONDAY, the 19th of May, 1851, at Six o'clock in the Evening, when subjects of deep interest, connected with the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the World, will occupy the attention of the meeting.

It is expected that, in addition to several eminent Foreigners, the Revs. A. Crummell, H. H. Garnet, and Josiah Henson, Ministers of colour from the United States and Canada, will take part in the proceedings.

Tickets may be obtained at the Anti-slavery Office, 27, New Broad-street; or of Mr. C. GILPIN, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without.

Further detailed particulars will appear in due course.